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The First Dutch West India Company (1621-1674)

An historical approximation to the conflicts and circulations of Dutch goods and people in the Atlantic Ocean.

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Abstract: The First West India Compagnie can also be considered to some extent the less studied brother of the East India Compagnie, the Pacific counterpart that was founded to unify trade and thus obtain the commercial monopoly in Asia. This same mission was relied on the WIC in 1621 and even experimented some very successful first years. My objective thus is to study these first successful years, until the bankruptcy in 1674, approaching it from the following previously devised questions: involving the 1) How did the Habsburg Dynasty affect the development of Dutch commerce? What do we see in the Atlantic world after the creation of the Dutch West India Company? 2) How the United Provinces developed and what parameters gave birth to the creation of this new company. 3) What were the prime differences between the North and the South Atlantic, and how does the loss of Dutch Brazil influence the Caribbean.

Keywords; WIC, Low Countries, Angola, Pernambuco, slave boat, Atlantic Ocean, Gold Coast, Council of States.

.

Abstracto; La Primera Compañía de las Indias Occidentales también puede considerarse en cierta medida la hermana menos estudiada de la Compañía de las Indias Orientales, la contraparte del Pacífico que se fundó para unificar el comercio y así obtener el monopolio comercial en Asia. Esta misma misión fue propuesta para la WIC en 1621, e incluso experimentó algunos años muy exitosos.
El objetivo planteado es estudiar estos primeros años, hasta la bancarrota en 1674, abordando las siguientes preguntas previamente formuladas: 1) ¿Cómo afectó la dinastía de los Habsburgo al desarrollo del comercio holandés? ¿Qué vemos en el mundo Atlántico después de la creación de la Compañía Holandesa de las Indias Occidentales? 2) Cómo se desarrollaron las Provincias Unidas y qué parámetros dieron origen a la creación de esta nueva empresa. 3) ¿Cuáles fueron las principales diferencias entre el Atlántico Norte y el Atlántico Sur y cómo influye la pérdida del Brasil holandés en el Caribe?

Palabras Clave; WIC, Provincias Unidas, Angola, Pernambuco, Barco esclavista, Atlántico, Costa de Oro, Estados Generales.

1.Introduction.

1. Establishment of the WIC; A historical contextualization.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Iberians had sailed and discovered both the African and American coasts, due to this fact, from a maritime point of view, they were the hegemonic powers that controlled the Atlantic Ocean. This view was underlined when in 1494 the Holy Pope approved the Treaty of Tordesillas allowing the lands beyond Europe to be appropriated by Spain and Portugal.[1] Although the Spanish had accomplished their defense of the Americas in quite a good manner, around the 1600's fishermen from England and France became more present in the Atlantic ocean, their interest in the rich fishing spots around Newfoundland led to an increasing amount of small fishing colonies. Soon after fur merchants established alongside the same coast and traded European items for beaver and otter fur, the Brazilian woods were also of interest due to the production of dye-wood. The same happened at the West-African coast were gold and ivory lured merchants to their vicinities, even though the number of visitors to what was supposed to be Spanish and Portuguese domain increased, their respective monarchies didn't intervene.[2]

In the fifteenth century the northern Dutch provinces have specialized themselves in the bulk trade and at the end of that same century, they dominated the grain trade, a product that had been known to be of lack in the more southern located territories. When the grain was taken to the South, the Dutch fleet would come back with salt bought from Portugal, and thus during the 15th century, the Dutch were able to set up a monopoly based on bulk trade giving them no need to venture outside the European shores in the same England, France and the Iberian neighbors. But in 1585, Philip II closed the Portuguese harbors[3] for Dutch vessels, in consequence, the United Provinces decided that it would be easier to obtain the salt from the Caribbean and spices for Asia by themselves, opening thus the United Provinces towards the Atlantic expansion.[4]

Around 1560 the importance of Dutch merchants in the excelling Antwerp commercial district was clear, they formed the biggest foreign group of merchants. But things changed when in 1566 the iconoclast and protestant reinvindications broke out. The Duke of Alba was sent to

[1]The Treaty of Tordesillas stated that along a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, off the west coast of Africa a line of demarcation was set, about halfway between the Cape Verde islands (already Portuguese) and the islands entered by Christopher Columbus on his first voyage.
[2] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.13) / (2006, p. 16-20)
[3] Philip II had become king of Portugal in 1580 completing the dream of his ancestors of uniting the entire Iberian Peninsula under one crown.
[4] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.14-15)

the Low Countries in 1567 and installed there the Blood Trails. As a result, an important exodus of merchants to especially England and North Germany took place, and when in 1572 Civil War broke out in Holland[5] and numerous Catholic merchants fled to the Iberian Peninsula. Later in that same decade, in 1576 The Spanish Fury[6] drained the largest amount of merchants from Antwerp, although when in 1584 the Spanish siege on Antwerp began under the military control of the Duke of Parma, the city still counted as one the most important, if not the most, commercial cities of Europe.[7]

The introduction of the Dutch in the Atlantic needed, except economic funds, knowledge and ironically the Spaniards were the ones who gave it to the Dutch when a true exodus of important scholars and merchants fled from the Southern Provinces after the sack of Antwerp in 1585. An alternative was to move to Protestant London, but the local business elite there actively tried to exclude any newcomers from the markets. Eventually, Amsterdam attracted most of the merchants,[8] merchants with important contracts in the New World and scholars brought with them cartography, navigation, and geography of which de Dutch didn't dispose. The United Provinces, before the Amsterdam revolt of 1572, Middelburg had an important share in wine trade with France, and Dordrecht dominated river traffic with Germany. Amsterdam surfaced as the most important supplier of shipping services to merchants in Antwerp. It also became the leading port for the trade in herring, peer beer, and grain, experimenting a major growth between 1540 and 1565, the United Provinces counted with around 700 fishing boats and somewhere between 20,000 and 22,500 fishermen, while the merchant empire was estimated to have been around 800 to 1000 ships with over 30.000 sailors in the sixth decade of the XVIth century.[9] Within this exodus without a doubt Petrus Plancius was one of the more distinct characters to cross the border to the Northern Provinces, he was a distinguished theologist and geographist who excelled in the Dutch nautical science.[10] When in 1598 Philip

[5] GELDERBLOM, Oscar (2013, p 36) The Dutch Civil War started in 1572 when the city council Amsterdam allied with the Spanish military intervention in Holland. This led to the naval blockade by the rebels under the instructions of William of Orange. The Crisis lasted until 1578 when the Catholic city council was ousted by new Protestant magistrates.

[6] October 28th 1576, a peace agreement between the northern rebels and the southern provinces under control of the Spanish army was signed. After the signing of the treaty the Spanish garrison in Antwerp mutinied starting the so called Spanish Fury. The Spanish soldiers burned houses and extorted payments from the local population, leading to a major exodus of merchants from the city.

[7] GELDERBLOM, Oscar. (2013, p. 32-33)

[8] GELDERBLOM, Oscar (2013, p.1-2); LOPEZ, Adriana & GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 122-125)

[9] GELDERBLOM, Oscar (2013. p. 36-41); LOPEZ, Adriana & GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 125-129)

[10] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.15); ISRAEL, Jonathan (1995, p.271-275)

III followed in his father's footsteps and introduced new tariffs on the exportation of salt from the Portuguese with the Dutch merchants, as a consequence the Dutch rebels had to expand their horizons in the search of new grounds from where they could obtain this highly needed salt. Cape Verde, which the Dutch had reached in 1598, the northern Venezuelan coast, as well as multiple Caribbean islands became the alternative destination, and before 1600 an estimate of one hundred vessels sailed between these territories and the United Provinces.[11] In 1605 the Spanish tried to cleanse the Atlantic Ocean, which led to the appointment of Admiral Luis de Fajado with the responsibility of this act, it is very important to emphasize that the commerce in salt beyond the European boundaries could not compare to the exchange with Portugal. For this reason between 1609 and 1621 when the Twelve Year Truce was, in fact, working Dutch interest in these foreign markets was put on a hold.

In the last decade of the XVIth century salt was thus a very important part of the Dutch commercial network. Sugar on the other hand, as the trade with the African coast was not yet established, better said it was not until the capture of the Dutch shipper Barent Ericksz in 1590 by the Portuguese on the island of Principe, and his later transfer to São Tomé, that the Dutch learned of the riches that could be found in Africa. In 1593 Barent Ericksz sailed to the Gold Coast on the eighty-ton heavy *Maeght van Enkhuysen* and returned fully loaded with peppers, gold, and ivory. Soon other important merchants such as Claes Adriaensz,[12] Elias Trip, Laurens Bicker, Daniël van der Meulen, and specially Balthasar de Moucheron invested in this new market. De Moucheron founded for this very purpose the Veerse Compagnie and in 1598 he sieged the island of Principe with five fully ships and five hundred men, the siege was a success but several months later the Portuguese managed to retake the island from the Dutch.

The seafaring to the Northern American territories happened, similar to the African affairs, due to an unwilling but profitable incident. The VOC[13] had hired in 1609, the same year as the singing of the Twelve Year Truce, the English expeditionary Henry Hudson with the intent to establish a northern route to Asia, but instead, due to unfortunate weather, he laid anchor in Newfoundland. Henry Hudson sailed the river inland what today is known as the Hudson River, there he found a long island in the middle of the river, and although initially the interest from

[11] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.17)

[12] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.18) / (2006, p. 16) On his second trip to Africa, Claes Adriaenszs managed to make a net profit of over 40% on his initial investment. This indicates that the Golden Coast trade became indeed of very high interest within the Dutch merchant society.

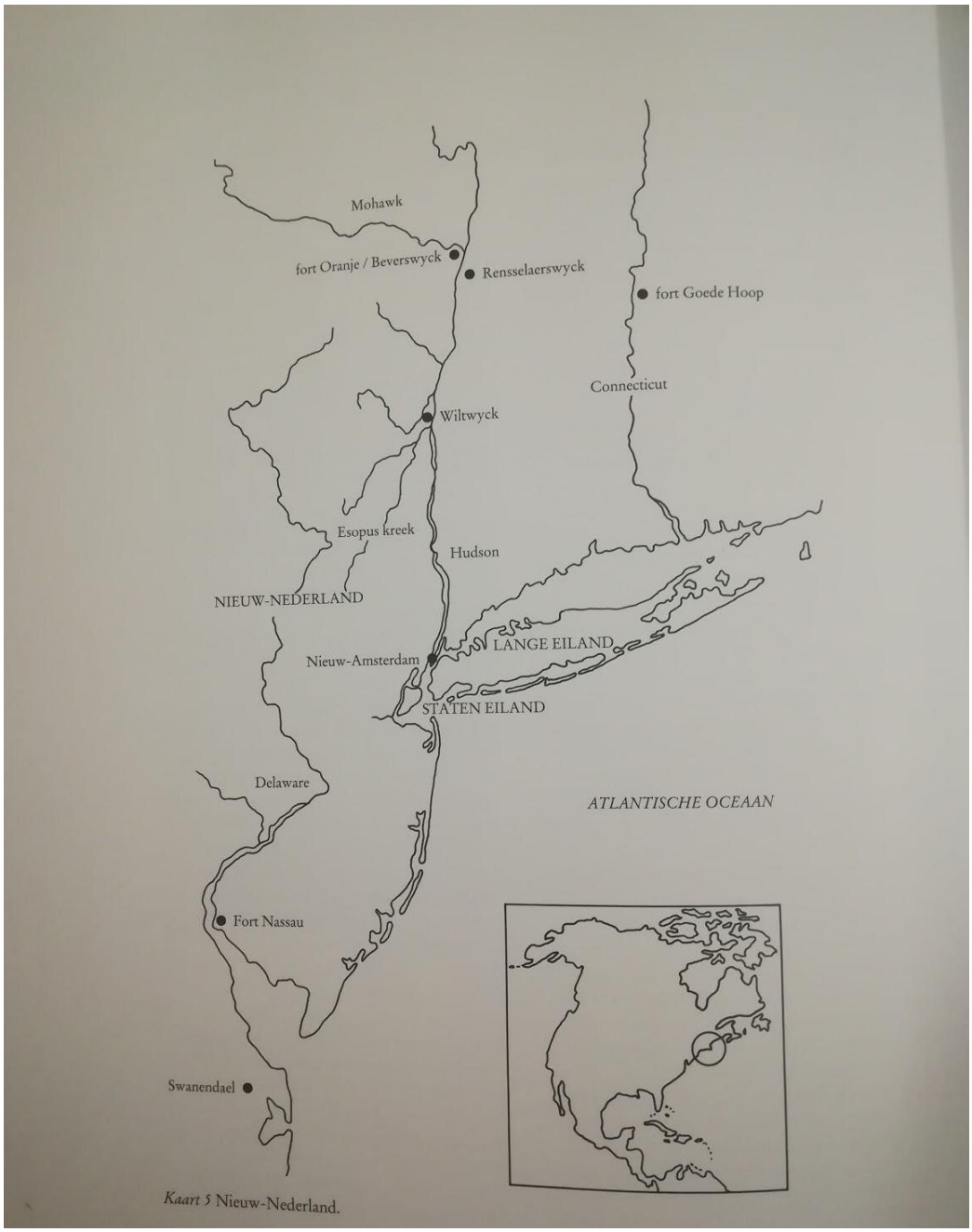
[13] VOC or *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* was a trade company founded in the year 1602 and which had been granted the monopoly over the Asian commercial markets. Its purpose was to connect the United Provinces and defend her interests in these waters.

the United Provinces was low, gradually merchants from Amsterdam started to organize fleets that had to connect these waters with the mainland in Europe, founding thus the colony of New Amsterdam (Figure 1). The merchant companies that originate from these establishments in Northern America will try to appropriate the trade monopoly of fur, but the State General will not allow it. In 1621 these smaller companies will legally disappear and make room for the new founded WIC. In this fashion, the United Provinces closed the Triangular commerce in the Atlantic in the year 1621.[14]

One of the first ideas for the construction of a singular company that had to control the trade in the Atlantic remote back to 1591, in the city of Middelburg, Zeeland. Willem Usselincx, a merchant originally from Antwerp, but the State General were not convinced of the necessity of such a construction. that vision changed in 1598 when Philip III introduced the new taxes on Dutch commerce with the Iberian Peninsula, the State General organized a fleet of 73 heavily armed warships with the intention of attacking and conquering several Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the Atlantic Ocean, but the Spanish and Portuguese enemies were notified about the plans and were able to prepare themselves well enough to convert this expedition into a failure. It was in 1600 when Usselincx wrote about his propositions which led to the formation of a commission that had to evaluate his ideas in February of 1606. The statement of this commission planned a company similar to the VOC, it would mainly focus on trade, and not on agricultural colonies as was designed by Usselincx. He himself described his idee of the WIC in the form of agricultural colonies that had to "peacefully" compete with the Spanish.[15] The company would also receive the trade monopoly over the Atlantic Ocean, as well as the juridic and military authorizations within its boundaries.[16] But the peace negotiations with Philip III put a hold on the development of this Compagnie due to the fact that the Spanish king was willing to recognize the sovereignty of the United Provinces in exchange of their retreat from both Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, although the Dutch were not willing to sacrifice their trade monopoly in Asia, the Lands Advocate van Oldenbarneveld did on the other hand agree to a temporary hold on the creation of a United Western trade Compagnie. The Treaty that would be signed in 1609 stated thus that the Dutch would retreat their intention of creating a commercial company in the Atlantic Ocean, and furthermore, it stated that the Dutch couldn't trade with Portuguese or Spanish harbors without the permission

[14] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.20-21)
[15] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p. 26)
[16] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.25)

Figure 1.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 82)

of their respective crowns. As a consequence, the sugar trade with Brazil increased exponentially. The West-African trade fell almost completely in Portuguese hands, and the Dutch traders were forced to flee most of their colonies.[17]

The hostile attitude of the Portuguese and fact that the Truce only forbad the Dutch of establishing trade points on domains controlled by either the Spanish or the Portuguese led to the belief of Usselincx that the creation of a West India Company was still possible, especially in areas like Guiana or the West African coast. One of the principle opposers to this plan was thus the Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarneveld, but that doesn't mean that there weren't collaborators on Usselincx side. Future Prince of Orange Maurice of Nassau and the mayor of Amsterdam Reinier Pauw were two of many important individuals that supported Usselincx's vision but until 1618 the influence of van Oldenbarneveld within the Council of States was simply too strong. The increasing opposition to Johan van Oldenbarneveld although would be intelligently used by Maurice of Nassau, and in 1618 on accounts of high treason, the Grand Pensionary would be executed.[18]

On the 18th of September 1618, three weeks after the imprisonment of Johan van Oldenbarneveld, the Council of States would threat the proposition of a Dutch West India Company following the monopoly concept created in 1606, the version to which Willem Usselincx opposed. The Council of States desired a decentralized holdership of the Dutch West India Company, Holland proposed the attribution of 50% of its shares to Amsterdam, 25% Zeeland to and the remaining shares would be divided amongst smaller cities in Holland and Vriesland.[19] Other important cities such as Groningen who were also left out during the creation of the Dutch East India Company were violently opposed to this structure and in 1620 they achieved the creation of a fifth chamber that represented their interest in the company. The second point of problem was Punta de Araya, the salt colony the Dutch had established at the

[17] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.26) / (2006, p. 28-29) As an example, the Portuguese fortified the island of São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) and in addition to the station of heavily armed warships, this was so because the Twelve Year Truce only applied to the continental war that was being waged in Europe, and not to the respective colonies.

[18] ISRAEL, Jonathan (1995, p.433-436; 1982, p. 61-65) The origin of the fall of Johan van Oldenbarneveld started in 1609-1610 when the Arminian-Gomarist dispute spread through the United Provinces, the Council of States, Oldenbarneveld and including Grotius defended the interests of the Arminians.The House of Nassau on the other hand openly allied itself with the Gomarists although until 1616 Maurice avoided a deep commitment. After multiple military interventions Johan van Oldenbarneveld failed to restore the nation's unity, furthermore strong Counter-Remonstration preachings continued, and in third place an economic crisis between 1617 and 1618 created discontent amongst the urban citizens giving Maurice van Nassau the change to overthrow Oldenbarneveld without the creation of a Civil War. Johan van Oldenbarneveld was sentenced to death in 1618 for his interventions in the religious disputes, Hugo Grotius on the other hand was imprisoned and later exiled.

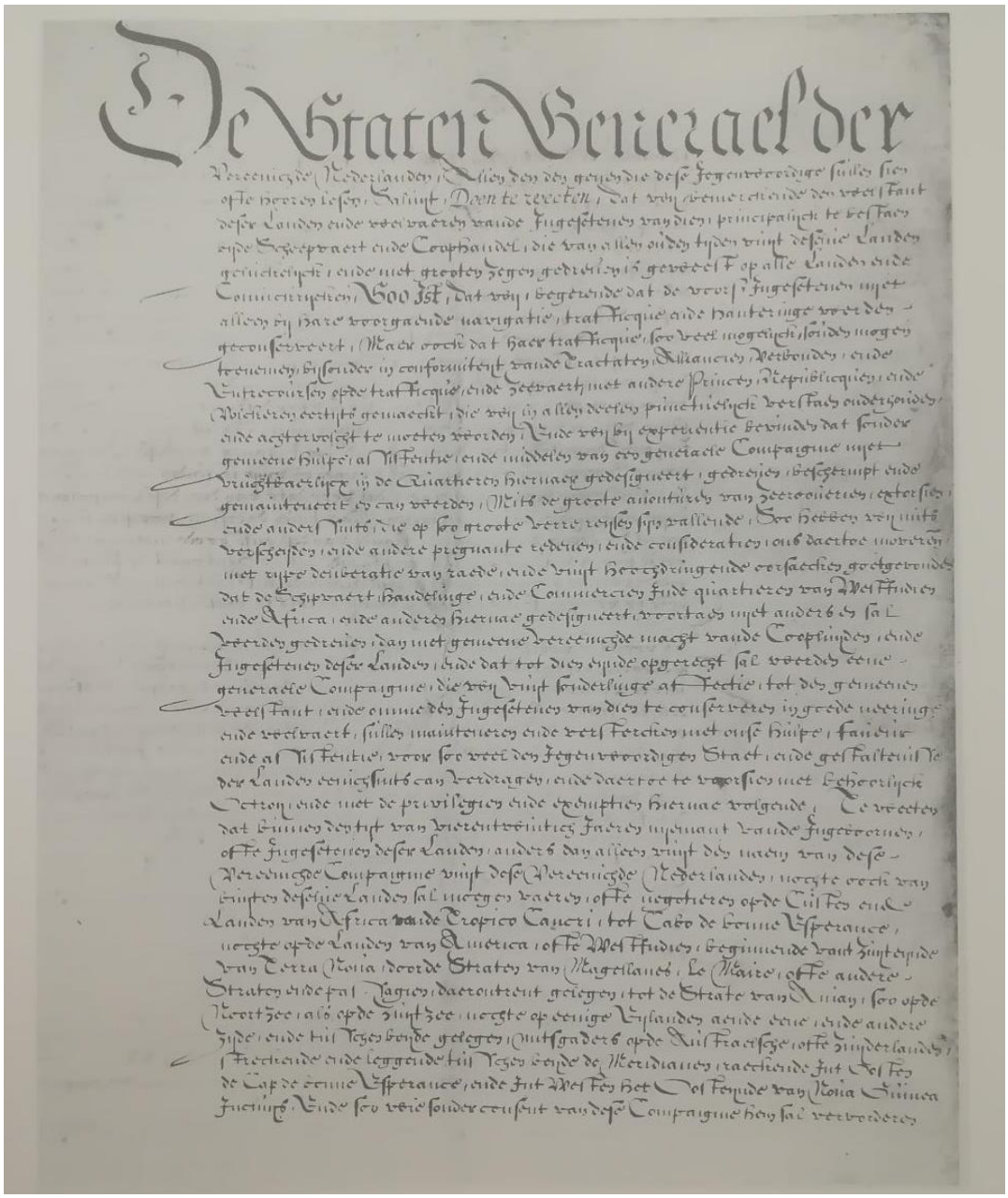
[19] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.29-30).

Northern Venezuelan coast, the monopoly of this colony was absorbed by the Dutch West India Company something that let to important protests in Enkhuizen, city that controlled the salt trade and that suffered greatly from the trade ban imposed by the Spanish after the end of the Twelve Year Truce in 1621. The Spanish, on the other hand, used the peace treaty to build a fortified defensive line that effectively defended the salt mines on Punta de Araya from Dutch merchants in the years after the Truce.

On the 3rd of June 1621 the Council of States approved the creation of an Atlantic trade company and thus the Dutch West India Company was born (Figure2-3), its and structure was written down in a total of 46 articles with a content that highly resembled that of the Dutch East India Company. The monopoly had a length of 24 years, a time after which the Council of States would evaluate the situation and decide its future, and included the trade and navigation of the West African coast south of the Tropic of Cancer, America and the Atlantic Islands. The internal structure of the Dutch West India Company stated, according to article eleven, that five internal chambers were to be created for each district that had to be represented. Obviously, Amsterdam with 4/9th and Zeeland with 2/9th of the Company's assets were the main two. Each chamber was responsible for its administration but they had to inform the other remaining chambers. Interesting to emphasize is that it wasn't until 1623 that the Company had the economic capabilities to undertake its first activities. In that same year, it would become an important weapon in the battles against the Spanish and the Portuguese, it is thus a normal feature in history to compare the WIC as a weapon due to its creation in 1621, year in which the Twelve Year Truce ended and the war began anew. But this isn't entirely true, the chambers were composed by an important amount of merchants, people that didn't share the vision of the Council of States and the monopoly it obtained clearly states: The navigation, trade, and commerce with the West Indies and Africa" [20], and, initially, the Council of States had little to say about the inner workings of the Company. But there was one crucial difference between the WIC and VOC, being it the political situation; the Spanish and the Portuguese possessed important colonies in the Atlantic ocean and the creation of the Dutch West India Company meant clearly that there would be an armed conflict between these powers. Between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries privateering was the principal means by which Europe's maritime powers tried to harm their adversaries. In times of peace these privateers often turned into pirates to continue the usage of violence, and even if a merchant managed to transport his goods to its destination he could still fall prey to social unrest or crime

[20] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.33) / (2006, p. 24-25)

Figure 2.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 29)

Figure 3.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 103);

and corruption, making the protection of traders and their items a primordial subject. In thesixteenth and seventeenth centuries, commercial cities played an important role in the military protection of merchants due to their commercial wealth, that allowed them to control mercenary armies of decent sizes. It's important to underline that political conflicts were not the only source of violence against traders, commercial cities also took up arms to defend their position in international markets by seizing products or denying access to those merchants that came from cities with which open conflict was being held.[21] In the spring and summer of 1621 in both the Republic of the United Provinces and Spain the war-time economic regulations were reintroduced, and major changes in navigation, commerce and industry were some of its consequences.[22] The Council of States was aware of this fact and attributed to the WIC important military help in case of conflict, but it would be the Dutch that in 1624 would take the first step in domination of the Atlantic Ocean. Adequate protection was far more difficult to organize in distant waters, Dutch ventures into Africa, Asia and America implied direct

[21] GELDERBLOM, Oscar (2013, p. 141-148)
[22] ISRAEL, Jonathan (1982, p. 83)

confrontation with Spanish and Portuguese traders, and it was only through pooling of private resources that the Dutch West India Company could muster enough strike power to stand their ground.Considerable losses from Amsterdam merchants after the ending of the Twelve Year Truce and the increasing of Spanish attacks on ships sailing under the flag of the United Provinces led to the decision of allowing Dutch merchants to organize their own armed convoy, although the major ports in the Low Countries remained in charge of organizing the protection of overseas trade.[23]

2. South Atlantic

1. Dutch Brazil, *"Het Grote Desseyn"* (1623-1654)

> "*A política de colonização aplicada pelos portugueses no Brasil até meados do século XVII é a mesma utilizada pelos holandeses durante os 35 anos de sua colonização do Nordeste: centrar atenção e recursos nos núcleos maiores -para os holandeses, apenas o Recife- e controlar indirectamente as demais povoações. Colocados em face das mesmas condições, dois tipos de colonizadores comportavam-se de forma semelhante"*[24]

As stated by Dr. Henk den Heijer and Jonathan Israel the formation of the Dutch West-India Company had many complications.[25] It would take over two years before the WIC had obtained enough funds to send their first vessels to sea, these ships were destined to partake in the commercial networks between the United Provinces, Western Africa, and the Amazons. That same year the *Heren der Negetien*[26] assembled in Amsterdam to design a strategy to attack the Iberian settlements in the Atlantic Ocean. Many were the plans that came up during the reunion, but in October of 1623, it was decided that the Portuguese dominions in the Southern Atlantic would be the objective, being Brazil its center. Many of the sugar fields for which Brazil had become famous were exploited by Angolese slaves, during the 17th century Portuguese Brazil supplied between 20,000 and 25,000 boxes of sugar every year and production was closely

[23] GELDERBLOM, Oscar (2013, p. 166-167))
[24] LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 120)
[25] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 81-84); ISRAEL, Jonathan (1982, p. 113-114)
[26] The *Heren XIX* formed the board of the West India Company (WIC). This board was formed by representatives of the chambers participating in the WIC, plus a representative on behalf of the States General. Amsterdam had eight delegates, and Zeeland four. The rooms at Maze, Noorderkwartier and Stad en Lande each had two delegates.

linked to the slave trade. Every sugar mill, also known as *engenho,* needed between 150 and 200 workers. although bigger ones did effectively exist. Lisbon complained in 1611 that most certainly part of the profit from the slave trade would fall into the hands of Jews in Holland. Thus the extraction of sugar meant also increasing activities on Sao Jorge da Mina, in Guinea, (Figure 4)[27] Negroes who were taught the Dutch language and who acted as an interpreter on the ships had to help the Dutch gain some influence, and after the fusion of the Iberian crowns in 1580, it was thought that many of the *Moradores,* or Portuguese colonists, were willing to choose a Dutch ruler over a Spanish one. The mission was to first conquer *San Salvador,* which laid in the *Bahía de Todos os Sanctos,* immediately after the fleet would sail to *Sao Paulo de Loanda* near Angola and occupy there the most important harbor in the slave trade market. The appointed admiral for this expedition was Jacob Willekens and his vice-admiral would be Piet Hein, (Figure 5)[28] and even though Madrid had informed the Governor in Brazil, Diogo de Mendonça Furtado, the colony did almost nothing to prepare itself for the attack, possibly due to the skepticism in which the warning was received. San Salvador was occupied by the Dutch on the 10th of May 1624 (Figure 6) but it had to fight a difficult battle against guerilla armies organized by the Portuguese citizens that had fled the city, even though at the end of May admiral Jacob Willenks send a vessel to inform the United Provinces of their triumph, and on the 28th of July he himself followed.[29] On the 5th of August, Piet Heyn sailed for Angola with seven ships to join a bigger squadron leaving Bahia practically defenseless, from a naval point of view. On the 30th of March 1625 an Iberian rescue fleet arrived at Bahia under the admiralty of Don Fadrique de Toledo y Osorio, during a month the Dutch were able to resist the Iberian pressure, but on the 30th of April, they surrendered.

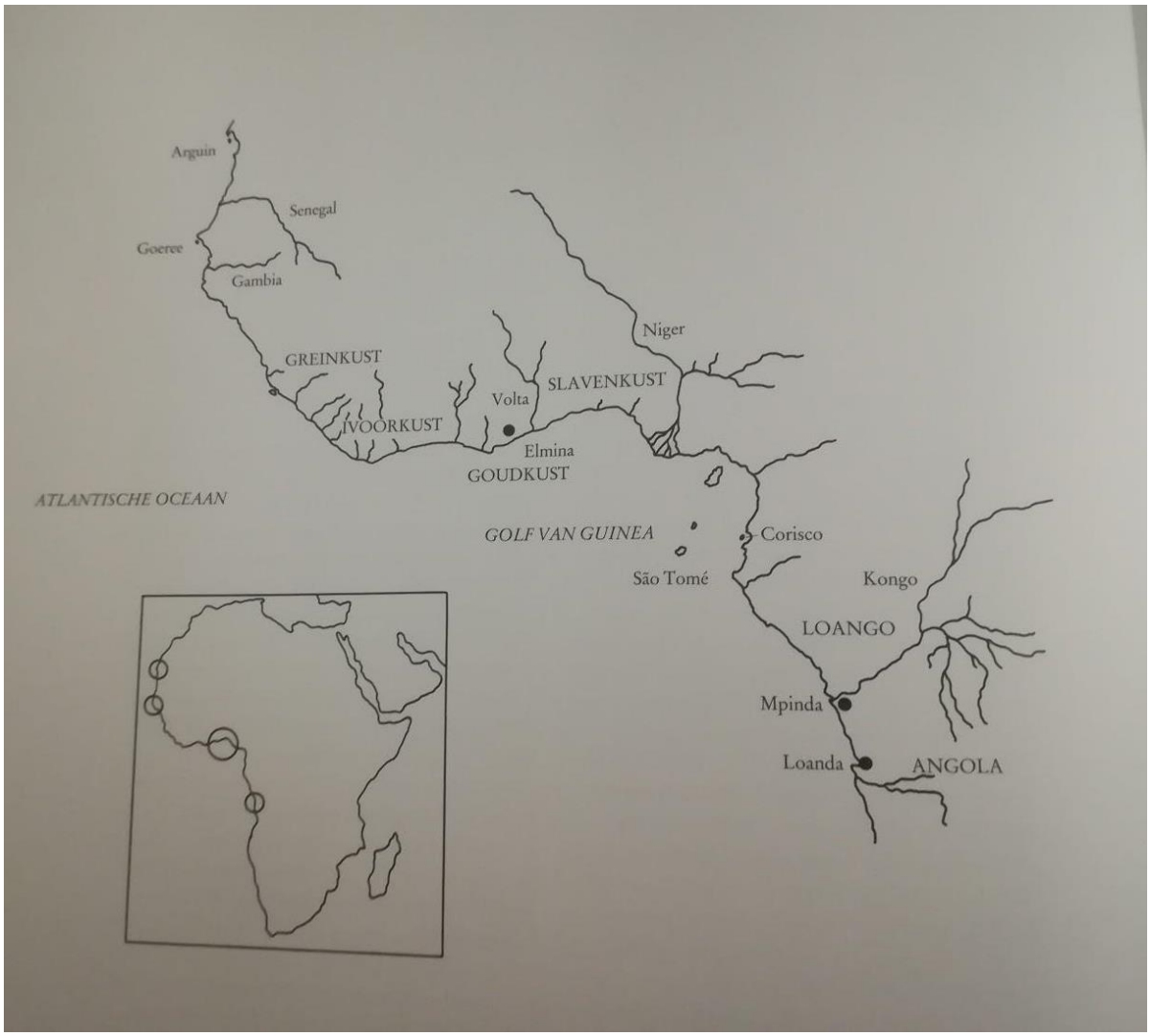
An example of the difficulties in communication over these large distances is clearly visible when the burgomaster of Edam, Boudewijn Hendrikszoon, sailed to Bahia with a squadron of 34 ships before the message had arrived in the United Provinces of the Spanish attack, also he had not received the notice stating the failure of Piet Heyn in the occupation of the Angolan coast, both sailed to Bahia and were confronted with the Spanish armada, and both fled without battle. At this point the funds that the WIC had accumulated until 1623 had been wasted.

[27] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p. 32)

[28] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p.63) The Dutch fleet that sailed to Brazil consisted out of 22 battleships and 4 yachts, with a total of 3300 sailors and 460 pieces of artillery. This convoy was created mainly by the investment of private funds, although, due to the development of the Thirty Years War, also disposed of French and Venetien investments.

[29] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 35-40) / (2006. p.30-31); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p.39-43); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 130-131)

Figure 4.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 70)

Figure 5.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.62)

Figure 6.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 37);

Between 1623 and 1628, year in which the Capitanía of Pernambuco would be conquered by the Dutch, Piet Hein, the former vice-admiral on Jacob Willekens expeditionary fleet partook in several successful attacks in and around the Caribbean Sea. Furthermore, Piet Hein carried out four attacks on Brazil between 1623 and 1627 (Figure 7). On March 3, 1627, the third attack was carried out on Bahia, however, the wind worked against and the fleet seemed to fall prey before the Portuguese ships the *Amsterdam* was lost due to being stuck on a sandbank, the *Orange boom* was also lost, but enough was taken to gain some profit out of the attack. On the fourth attempt, performed on June 10, 1627, the Portuguese had hidden four well-supplied ships in the overgrown creeks on the island of Maree, all four were overpowered after a harsh battle, looted and burned. The benefits consisted of 900 boxes of sugar, skins, tobacco, and other items.[30] These expeditions were relatively successful but in some sense fell into oblivion

[30] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p. 61-90); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 130-131); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2006, p. 35-37)

Figure 7.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 58)

in comparison to the capture of the Silverfleet on July 20th, 1628. 30 Spanish ships departed from Vera Cruz to La Havana, 25 small merchant ships and 5 warships. Guns were taken off-board to make room for passengers and contraband. On the 8th of September the ships entered the Bay of Matanzas with a Dutch squadron on their heels, a second squadron had closed the road to la Havana as well as a second way out through the Strait of Florida. The big problem was the speed of the Dutch ships, who had used water on their sails in order to capture more wind in them, in comparison to the Spanish galleons. Upon arrival in the bay, the Spaniards sailed too fast, causing several ships to collide uncontrollably on sandbanks, so close to each other that shooting was impossible. There was total chaos onboard, sloops were set off to take the rich passengers and their goods, in total disorder, of the ships while the Dutch ships approached the bay. The Silver Fleet ended up abandoned and the chaos moved to the country, where the Spaniards were pelted under Dutch cannon fire. Juan de Benavides Bazan, Admiral of Fleet, was criminalized many years later, although he was the only one who calmly tried to organize the defense of the fleet.[31] Arne Zuiderhoek made an estimation that the total profit of

[31] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p.104-117); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.59-65)

said conquest were roughly calculated to surpass 11.510.437 Dutch *guldens*.[32] From this total amount the Company would only see around 5.6 million, this is due to the fact that the largest amount would go to the bank accounts of the investors, furthermore about 10% of the profit was destined to the *Stadholder*. It was even a common action do willingly donate a small percentage to the poor.

A new military expedition was not organized until 1629, this was due to the obligation of the *Heren der Negentien* of loaning to the States-General in their conflict against Spanish occupants. This new intent of establishing a Dutch colony in Brazil was led by admiral Hendrick Corneliszoon Loncq. and had as objective, not Bahia, as it was the first time, but the less well-defended Pernambuco. In February 1630 both the cities of Pernambuco and Olinda were conquered by the Dutch armada (Figure 8). This obsession of the West-Indische Compagnie with Brazil is placed by modern-day historians in the context of what the Republic described as *het Grote Desseyn,*[33] stating that, to fight off the Spanish and Portuguese in the Atlantic Ocean the Dutch would need a platform from which they could directly control traffic from incoming and outgoing vessels. Some of the question that surfaced point to the geographical location, why did the Dutch have this obsession with Brazil? Ernst van den Boogaart, Jonathan Israel and Henk den Heijer all point to the same direction: basically it was due to the fact that the northern Brazilian coast was simply less fortified then its Spanish counterpart. The long stretches of poor defended beaches in combination with the number of sailable rivers that lead landinwart, natural highways on which sugar was transported from the *engenhos.*[34] In Spanish cases, in order to counter the rising european presence it was decided to create the *Capitanias Generales*, a political and military intervention that had to strengthen the peripheric territories. Brazil did not fall in these measurements and became thus, in some way, the weakest link. Evaldo Cabral de Mello[35] arguments in addition that from an urbanistic point of view the cities were all built along the coastlines, this meant that they were easy targets

[32] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p. 129-135); VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p.137-141); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.38)

[33] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.97-102); VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p.98-84: 88-92);

[34] The Portuguese word *engenho* references to the mills in which the raw sugar was pressed, these mills were generally controlled by the more wealthy *moradores*. This meant that in Brazil in some way a new social status had been created to differ between mill owners and landowners who solely harvested sugar and depended on the mills of their richer counterparts. This idea is stated, among others, by Evaldo Cabral de Mello. Ernst van de Boogaart was willing to go even further by underlining the fact that this is possibly one of the bigger differences between the sugar economy of Brazil and the one in the Caribbean, in the second case we don't see the creation of a new social group that exert an almost monopolistic control over the sugar mills.

[35] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p.29-33)

Figure 8.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 40);

for the navy of the Dutch West India Company, also the Northern provinces were close enough to both the maritime routes that connected the East with the West, *ergo* the Strait of Magallanes, and to the Caribbean. In conclusion Evaldo Cabral de Mello description of the interests of the Republic in Brazil as their main point of focus for the completion of *het Grote Desseyn* can be best compared to a bulletin that circulated in the Seven Provinces, allegedly written by Jan Andries Moerbeeck and titled, translated to english, "*Reasons why the West Indian Company should try to remove the King of Spain from its Brazilian domains."*[36] This opinion was shared by high placed members within the Company, men such as Johan Nieuhof.[37]

After Piet Heyn's successful conquest of the Silver Fleet, the WIC finally saw its economic value rise, it saw this situation as an opportunity to reinitiate their military pressure on Brazil. This time the objective was Recife. Not like Bahía, Pernambuco, and Olinda, two of the main cities in Recife were quite frankly badly fortified, at the same time it was an excellent sugar exporter.[38] These plantations were almost entirely worked by black slaves, Arne Zuidhoek states for example in the following fragment;

[36] The original title, in Dutch, would be the following; *Redenen waarom de West-Indische Compagnie de Koning van Spanje zou moeten proberen te verwijderen uit haar Braziliaanse domeinen.*

[37] Born in Uelsen Johan Nieuhof was a Dutch traveler who wrote about his journeys to Brazil, China and India. Nieuhof left for Dutch Brazil in 1640 as a reserve officer-candidate, once there he explored the regions between Maranhão and the São Francisco Rivers, making a particular study of the neighborhood of Pernambuco.

[38] SANTOS PÉREZ, José Manuel (2006, p. 97-98)

"Bevinden bij de Registers daarvan ghehouden, dat van Angola alleen in de jaren 1620,21,22,23, wesende 4 jaren, op de Capitania van Pernambuco zijn afgescheept 15430 Swarten uyt welcke de Koningh van Spagnien seer groote nuttigheden ontvingh."[39]

That between 1620-1623 a total of 15430 black slaves were exported to Pernambuco from Angola. Each *engenho*, or sugar mill would count, in most of the cases,[40] with around 150-200 black slaves, at the same time Arne Zuidhoek and Ernst van den Boogaart estimate that the death rate on Dutch slave ships lied somewhere between 16-25%.[41]

The Brazilian description of the Dutch colonization of Brazil, also interpreted as the Brazilian School, can be understood quite well from the works of Evaldo Cabral de Mello in his *Historia do Brasil*. It is stated by Cabral de Mello that the *Heren XIX* were convinced of their success due to the fact that Spain was facing a very unstable period clearly related to the 30 Year War. The Republic saw this development of events as the perfect opportunity to attack the Brazilian coastline anew. In June of 1629 a convoy under admiral Hendrick Cornelisz. Loncq sad sail for Pernambuco, arriving there on the 14th of February 1630.[42] While 26 ships of the convoy fired their cannons at Recife, Coronel Diederick Waerdenburch sailed north with the rest of the armada, past Olinda, lying anchor on the beach of Pau Amarelo, not far from that same town. The idea behind the siege was to have it orchestrated from two directions, a bombardment on the one hand that had to take the attention of and a slower but steadier approach by land.[43] Passage over land seemed to develop according to plan and with minimal resistance, it wouldn't be until the banks of the Rio Doce that the Dutch encountered counterfire. The defense of Pernambuco was in hands of Matias de Albuquerque,[44] he designed a plan in which a total of 1800 men would trench themselves around said river, between Olinda and Pau Amarelo. The

[39] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p.69)

[40] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 359-363) Describes the extraordinary case of the Portuguese Fernandes Vieira, an *engenho* owner who had at his disposal over 2.000 slaves, 1.000 oxes that were used to pull carriages and over 4.000 cows. At the same time, Fernandes Vieira was one of the Company main debtors aswell as protagonists of the 1645 Portuguese revolution against Dutch control of Brazil.

[41] ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p.33); VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p.122)

[42] The armada actually had to delay their voyage at Cabo Verde. When it actually arrived in Brazil it was constituted out of 67 ships and over 7000 men.

[43] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 53-56)

[44] The first and only Count of Alegrete, younger brother of Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho, Matias de Albuquerque served as an administrator and military advisor in Pernambuco during the Dutch occupation. He had served before that in both Africa and America, and would later on fight for Joao IV during the Portuguese rebellion against the Spanish Monarchy, winning the battle of Montijo and being awarded the before mentioned title of Count.

result was a confrontation that lasted a day, the Portuguese had the knowledge to use the geographical landscapes in their favor but the numbers were in the end simply too much. Two days after disembarking at Pau Amarelo the Dutch took the city of Olinda, on the 16th of February.[45] Not long after, on the 27th of February the siege of Recife started, the Dutch placed three cannons that shot almost without uninterrupted for the following 14 hours, around 500 men under the command of General Elst dug that same night trenches and started the siege of the city. Two days later, on the 30th of February, the city of Recife surrendered. Thus, within 2 weeks the Dutch had successfully occupied both Olinda and Recife starting a hectic and consuming, from both a military and economic point of view, a period that would last until 1654. Ambrosio Richshoffer and Cuthbert Pudsey were both mercenaries that fought for the Dutch West India Company during this phase, their diaries were conserved and serf nowadays as some of the richer and detailed sources in relation to the life of a common mercenary in the army of the WIC, this is of key importance because the Compagnie depended highly on these paid troops, they formed the majority of their armies, both naval as land. Within both dairies tasks and labor are reflected, punishments are described in full detail and above all daily life is described.

The siege and eventual abandonment of Olinda and Recife by the Portuguese did not mean that the end was in sight. On the contrary, Evaldo Cabral de Mello and Henk den Heijer, as well as Ernst van den Boogaart[46] underline that the Dutch the conflict was only starting, Matias de Albuquerque gave orders to burn the city warehouses, which were mainly packed with sugar. It was customary, not only for the WIC but in general, that after a triumph regarding the siege of a city, soldiers were allowed to plunder said city for an "x" amount of time, this was, as stated by the writings of Ambrosio Richshoffer, a way of satisfying and avoiding mutiny among the soldiers. Any abuse of this rule, or plunder outside the accorded period would seem to have resulted in severe physical punishments including often and exemplary death sentence. These sentences would be passed by a Council of War.

In 1654 a book would be published in Madrid under the name "*Memórias diárias da guerra do Brasil"*,[47] written by Duarte de Albuquerque de Coelho, the older brother of Matias de Albuquerque. Evaldo Cabral de Mello states that the work done on this book is so detailed that

[45] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 53-65); DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p.39-40)
[46] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 95-98)
[47] The publication consists of a compilation of carts sent between Matias and Duarte de Albuquerque during 1630-1654. They reflect every detail of the resistance set up by the brothers during the war making it a one of a kind book.

it is considered to be, from the Portuguese perspective, the best recompilation of the Dutch-Portuguese war.[48] Desperate situations call for desperate solutions and in the eyes of the Portuguese, the solution was a "guerrilla" style resistance in which practically the entire community participated. The tactic was seemed to be based on the fact that the Dutch lacked the knowledge of the area to effectively repel the Portuguese, it can be said that during this first period, roughly placeable between 1630-1638, the Dutch gradually gained control over the urban nuclei. At the same time though the roads that connected these cities with the inland, and thus with the *engenhos* were fully controlled by the Portuguese. The brothers Albuquerque doubted that Spanish help would come, in fact, they feared a possible Spanish intervention because it could have grave consequences on the inner workings of Brazilian colonial administration.[49]

As stated before, modern-day historians accept that this first period of Dutch colonialism in Brazil could be placed between 1630-1637/8.[50] Although the Brazilian School arguments that within this same chronology two separate phases can be distinguished, Evaldo Cabral de Mello arguments that between 1630-1632 the Dutch partook a strategy based on the systematic occupation of the main cities along the Northern Coast, these two years consisted of guerrilla-style conflict with the intent to prevent the Dutch from advancing to the North. The diary of Ambrosio Richshoffer actually states that the nights were used by both sides to move around for during the day this was considered to be too dangerous. On the one hand, the Portuguese used their alliances with native tribes to get to know all the ins and outs of the territory, on the other hands the Dutch used black slaves who had fled from their Portuguese masters during the war. During this two year period, the Dutch depended highly on their superior naval powers, occasionally small expeditions were sent to the north, to the Rio Grande and the Itamaracá Peninsula, land roads, as stated previously, were constantly disputed by Portuguese forces.

In February 1631 the *Heren XIX* ordered the fortification of Olinda to General Waerdenburch, these orders were actually very impractical because they meant the immobilization of troops in Olinda, something the Portuguese would benefit of, thus it was later decided to saque and burn the city in order to focus all of the Dutch presence on Recife.[51] 1632 would be the year in which the Dutch broke the impasse with the Portuguese "guerilla" tactics. In the end the superior

[48] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p.68-75)
[49] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p.70)
[50] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 42); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 95)
[51] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 99-100)

naval prowess of the Dutch were the key to bending the situation, Evaldo Cabral de Mello[52] and Ernst van den Boogaart[53] outlined the fact that Brazil hadn't been in a proper war for over a half a century, this meant that a complex and efficient economy had had it's time to develop, an economy based on supplying the merchant towns located along the shorelines from the inland using roads and rivers. Breaking this system was the only possible way for the Dutch to put pressure on the Portuguese, and thus objectives were switched and small expedition started to target the *engenhos* upriver to isolate the Portuguese. Many owners of these sugar mills actually decided to switch sides, they would pay the Dutch a tax over the total amount of sugar pressed in their mills in order to maintain their status, this meant that for the first time in two years the Dutch West India Company would finally obtain a somewhat steady source of income, note that the financial situation was already starting to deteriorate.[54]

Between 1633 and 1635 the Dutch successfully occupy Rio Grande do Norte with the intention to establish an alliance with Tapuias, the local community, and benefit from their knowledge of the land. Paraíba is also conquered by the Company and in order to prevent riots the exact same laws and taxes were established by the Dutch as during the Spanish dominion. The interior of Itamaraca was also occupied without important resistance at the beginning of 1635 that same year, in June and July, the last two important strongholds, *Arraial de Bom Jesus* and *O Cabo do Santo Agosthino.*[55] One last intent will be made from the Iberians to regain control of Brazil during the last months of 1635, General Don Luis de Rojas substitutes Matias de Albuquerque as general of the resistance, he wouldn't last long for in 1636 he died during the battle of Mata Redondo, close to Punto Clavo, the last fortified stronghold of the Portuguese, which would stay in their possession until February 1637.

1637 was not only the year in which the Portuguese suffered the loss of their last fort, but it would also be the year in which Johan Maurits (Figure 9) van Nassau-Siegen was appointed governor-general of the colony. An extensive, but necessary, reform was to be taken place, the war had taken a very high toll on the land, many plantations had been abandoned by their owners as well as many of the slaves had either fled in the hope of finding freedom or fought for the Dutch, in this case Maurits was convinced that these slaves had earned their freedom. Thus, firstly and from an economic point of view, new manpower was needed.[56] Secondly, a

[52] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 102-106); (2007, p.67-72)
[53] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 110-111)
[54] LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 131-132)
[55] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 125-130); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2006, p. 49-69)
[56] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p.111); LOPEZ, Adriana & GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 132-134)

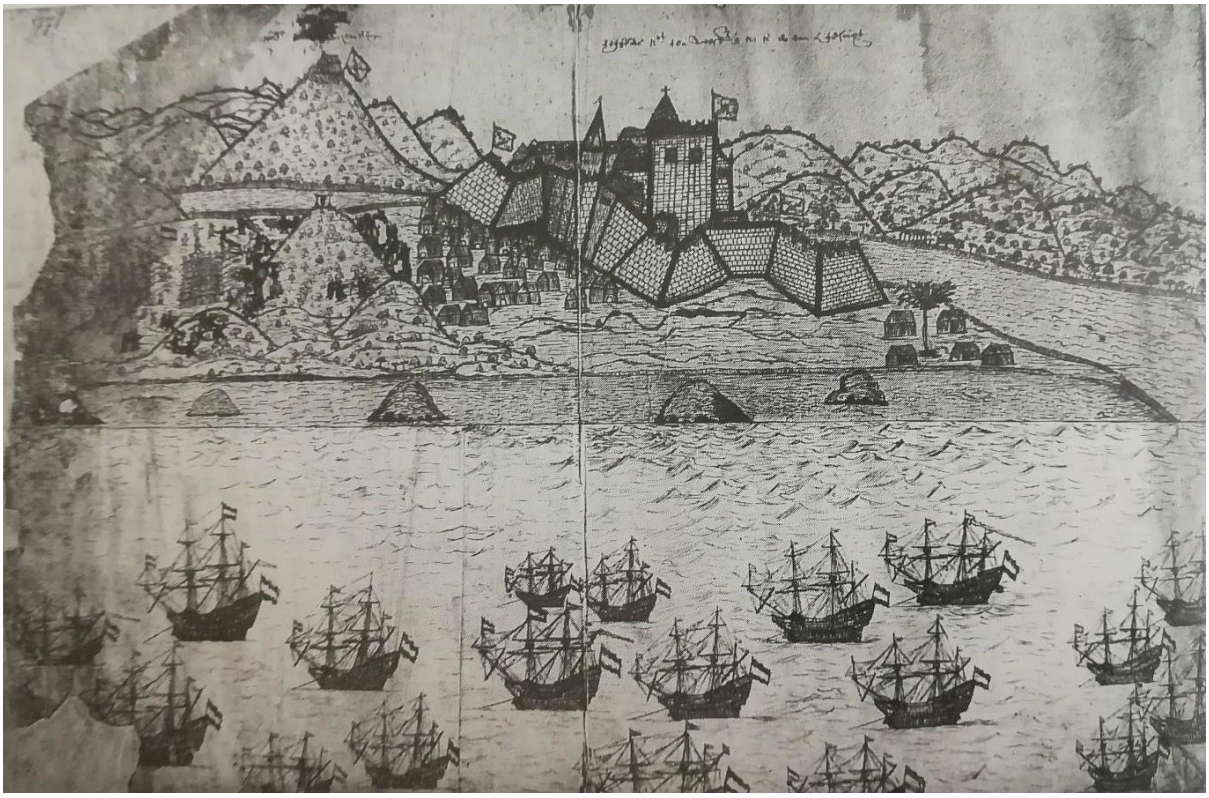
Figure 9.

Source: https://www.europeana.eu/portal/es/record/90402/RP_P_OB_50_087.html

judicial and civil structure had to be formed in order to enable legislation. In the first place, the High and Secret Council, of which Mauricio as Governor, Captain, and Admiral General is the president and will be where matters related to civil government and war are dealt with. In second place The political-judicial Council and in third place the Council or Chamber of Escabinos, a jury court composed of professional judges and citizens chosen by randomly.[57]
In 1637 and 1641 both Elmina and Luanda (Figure 10), respectively, were conquered by the Dutch, Maurits reasoned in front of the States-General and the Republic that administrative control over these colonies had to be handed over to him, this was in his eyes the best solution to restore balance to the Brazilian sugar economy. At the same time, the governor-general put up for sale the abandoned engenhos, by the end of 1637 99 of the 160 mills were working.[58]
There was also a third problem that had to be solved, how should the new colony outline its

[57] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 166)
[58] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 111); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 134-136)

Figure 10.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 72)

commerce, even though trade had been fairly open to private intervention, something that contradicted the charter given to the West India Company by the Republic.[59] Krzysztof Arciszwenski, a commander during the first war between 1630-1637 who gained the position of vice-governor of Dutch Brazil when Johan Maurits was appointed governor-general, stated in an open letter to the *Heren XIX* that during these times of conflict a restrained monopoly would only harm the already fragile bank account of the WIC.[60] Arciszwenski thought that the financial aid private merchants contributed were the answer, the Dutch had no experience in ruling such a vast territory and in order to lower expenditure, the Company could charge taxes over the trade with Brazil, in this way it would gain a consistent source of income. Johan Maurits, on the other hand, thought that the Company should maintain the full monopoly over some of the more important items, such as Pau-Brasil, the importation of war-related arms,

[59] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 42-43); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 171-184)
[60] LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 131-132); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 42) States that after the Dutch had occupied the main fortifications of the Portuguese in Brazil, the resistance war had cost the Company so much that it was estimated to have over 18 million *gulden* in debts.

over slave trade and finally over the maritime navigation. This last one gave the Dutch West India Company the power to charge a 10% fee over the importation and a 20% fee over exportation, as well as other harbor taxes.[61]

In 1641 the news about the Portuguese restoration reached Recife, a fact that could have been of great importance for the strategic value of Dutch Brazil. It was thought that the Portuguese could become a key ally in the war against the Spanish king, the WIC at the same time saw this situation as an opportunity to expand its colonial empire by taking advantage of the Portuguese vulnerability. São Tomé, Luanda, Sergipe y São Luís were occupied by the Dutch. The new political begging of the Dutch colony under Johan Maurits was also closely documented by the Portuguese, the period initiated since Matias de Albuquerque was replaced by Don Luis de Rojas were portrayed with great detail in the letters sent by Pedro Cadena de Vilhasante.

The governance of Dutch Brazil has been described by Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, contemporary intellectuals, and modern-day historians as a game that has three objectives to satisfy at the same time while at the same time these objectives, by nature, could contradict each other. A political triangle were the Jews, Portuguese and Dutch form each of the three vertices, Johan Maurits was convinced that in order to relieve stress between each party, a certain degree of religious toleration would be needed, an ideology that would create contradictions in the Republic, especially because it would still take around a decade for the Treaty of Westphalia to be signed.[62] Nowadays, the most detailed documents about the population of Dutch Brazil are attributed to the writings of Adriaan van Dussen, although we should also take into consideration the documents of Johan van Walbeeck and Cosmo de Moucheron, he states that within the Dutch citizens two categories can be made, firstly those who are working under a contract of the WIC, secondly those who finished this contract and decided to stay as free citizens of the colony, or those who came to Brazil on their own free will, being mainly merchants. As I already affirmed when talking about Krzysztof Arciszwenski, one of the main goals during the time of Johan Maurits as governor-general was to increase the population in Brazil, this is why those who came from the Republic willingly were given small privileges such as exemption from paying certain taxes.[63] The Portuguese population was described by Adriaan van Dussen as the remnants of the time when the Iberian crown controlled the northern *capitanias*, said Portuguese specialized in working the land, and

[61] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 186); VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 126-128)
[62] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 217-221); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 134-136); SANTOS PÉREZ, José Manuel (2006, p. 34-35)
[63] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 252-256)

were described in "*Brief speech on the state of the four captainships conquered in Brazil"*[64] by the Dutch as very simple, very basic people, a lot less extravagant in comparison to the Dutch, an opinion shared by Walbeeck and Moucheron and Leonardo Dantas.[65] Thirdly there were also jews that had fled Portugal due to the Inquisition and had used the Republic as a platform to access Brazil. The vast majority of said jews were expert merchants, they weren't bound by contract to the Company and mainly focused on the importation and exportation of an item with an agricultural purpose, often sold at prices three to four times higher than in Europe.[66] Probably the most important part of the colony's civilization were the slaves, Adriaan van Dussen would also establish three different origins of slaves, firstly and most commonly were the black slaves imported from the Atlantic coast of Africa, secondly slaves bought from the Tapuia tribes, these were normally men from other tribes that resided in the interior of Brazil, and finally slaves obtained by the Dutch during their raids and incursions in the most northern parts of Brazil.[67]

Adriaan Van Dussen can be seen thus as an expert in the field of demography when discussing Dutch Brazil, but furthermore also emphasized on some of the main problems said demography had, being one of the main the rations of food that arrived at the Colony. When administering a territory that focuses on the plantation of a very specific item, in this case, sugar, you directly depend highly on the consistent arrival of those items you don't produce but are necessary for basic survival, such as bread or meat. This situation caused a lot of friction between Johan Maurits and the *Heren XIX*, confrontation that led to the petition in 1642 by Johan Maurits to be repatriated to the United Provinces, he stated that a restoration of the Portuguese authority was imminent now that, and after the Peace Treaty signed in 1641 with between both monopolies,[68] the main forces of the Dutch had been retired from Brazil. The colony was, from Johan Maurits point of view, doomed, it lacked the financial and military capacity to defend itself, these were shown in 1642 when Maranhao rebelled against the Dutch occupants. The only thing that kept the situation slightly under control was the charisma of Johan Maurits, but

[64] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 260) It was described as a tale, a story, published in the United Provinces in 1638 to inform the population about Brazil, possibly to incentivize migration to the colony.
[65] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 257-266); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 136-137)
[66] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 263-264)
[67] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 269-270)
[68] In 1641, one year after the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, the Dutch signed a Peace Treaty with the new Portuguese king. The Treaty of The Hague established a ten year truce between both sides. Although it was created in the beginning to involve the entirety of both Imperium, including thus the colonies, it ended up in fact as a truce that only had real meaning within the European continent.

when he left the colony in march of 1643 and was substituted by a board formed of three members of the High Council.[69] After the elimination of the one factor that kept things relatively in check the Portuguese population, who according to Adriaan van Dussen outnumbered the Dutch 10 to 1, started to openly question the Dutch authority. A Conspiracy wes being brewed between the owners of the *engenhos*, conspiracies thought to be led by João Fernandes Vieira and Francisco Berenguer. It would take almost two years before an insurrection of the Portuguese population would effectively take place. An insurrection that would count with support from Bahia.[70] Diogo Lopes da Santiago profiled in his "*Historia da guerra do Pernambuco"* as one of the richest *engenho* owners at the same time as well as one of the bigger debtors. The reasons for the insurrection were exposed in the following manifesto; *"Manifesto do direito com que os moradores da Província de Pernambuco se levantaram da sujeição em que, por força de armas, os tinha posto a sociedade de alguns mercadores das províncias da Holanda"* briefly argumenting that the Dutch no longer tolerate the Portuguese religion while at the same time the economy established elevated taxes on the importation of European goods when at the same time sugar prices were dropping.[71] The initial events of the insurrection arose in Ipojuca, in Santo Antônio do Cabo, civilians attacked two ships there and imprisoned the Dutch sailors, they rebelled both in the interior and in the cities under the master of engenho Amador de Araújo. The Dutch sent Lieutenant-Colonel Haus with his respective Brazilian forces to free up the roads that connected *Santo Antônio* with the fort of *Santo Agosthino*, occupied by the Portuguese, and also the prisoners. On August 3, the insurgent forces defeated Lieutenant Colonel Haus's main force. Ernst van den Boogaart argues that this rebellion initiates the beginning of the downfall of the Dutch colonial empire in the Atlantic Ocean.[72] With some support from the States-General and the VOC it was possible to reconquer the lost areas, furthermore intensive privateering of sugar ships and the naval superiority of the Dutch helped in this situation. Between 1647-1648 the Dutch carried out an effective blockade of Bahia, they were on the other hand not able to recover the interior Recife. In 1648 the control of Sao Tomé and Luanda was also lost before the Portuguese inhabitants who had rebelled against the Dutch authority. It is true that until 1654 the Dutch managed to maintain their

[69] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p.331-337) The first three members who were chosen as the board of Brazil were Hendrick Hamel, Adriaan van Bullestrate en Dirck Codde van den Burgh. Three members who were criticized for their lax intervention in the already decaying economy.
[70] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p.350-390)
[71] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010 p. 359-363); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 137-138)
[72] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 143-144)

presence in Recife, but since 1648 the Portuguese naval empire managed to be reborn from its ashes.[73]

Henk den Heijer reveals that the struggle for Brazil would become a long and painful one for the Dutch, in February 1649 the Dutch would be defeated in two occasions by Guarapes, one month later admiral De With would fail in his attempt to attack a leaving sugar transport in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro. The Republic started to question whether maintaining the colony was a feasible goal while at the same time defenders of the Company stated that a direct attack of Portugal could help the situation in Brazil. The Republic's politics regarding Dutch Brazil showed more of an interest in prolonging an already lost colony than resolving its problems. In 1653, when the Dutch found themselves in the First Anglo-Dutch War King Joao IV took advantage of the situation and made a first decisive move ordering Jeronimo de Ataide to force Recife to surrender. The fleet of de Ataide reached Recife on the 20th of December 1653, five weeks later the High Council of Recife surrendered all remaining Dutch strongholds in Brazil. They were given free passage to the Republic, there they were trailed for having surrendered Dutch Brazil, although it would be more of a formal interrogation without serious charges. It was clear that the loss of Brazil was the blame of the *Heren XIX* who hang on to long to the idea of completing their initial goal *Grote Desseyn*.[74]

3. North Atlantic.

1. Settling in the Caribbean.

The patent that the Republic attributed to the Dutch West India Company in 1621 gave the, on paper the exclusive access to the trade with the occidental African coast and the Atlantic waters. For the Caribbean, (Figure 11) the initial idea was to set up a tactic based on privateering, meaning thus a regulated and controlled piratery, that had to paralyze, or at least complicate the Spanish dominium in the Caribbean. It had been theorized that few, but very concrete, islands were to be conquered to contest the Spanish. This was a very general idea and the previously mentioned *Groot Desseyn* formed part of the same objective. Although in this case the scale was notably different.[75]

The initiative was taken in 1622 when a total of 1500 sailors from different salt transporting ships coming from Enkhuizen and Hoorn assaulted Punta de Araya. The intent was but repelled

[73] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 115-116)
[74] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 51-54); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2011, p. 117-120)
[75] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst. (1992, p. 105-106); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2006, p. 30-39)

Figure 11.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 56)

by the Spanish forces, soon after as we already stated, in 1623, a fleet under the admiralty of Jacob Willekens was sent to siege Bahia. In 1624 the returning fleet of both Piet Heyn and Boudewijn Hendrikszoon decided not to dispute the Iberian restoration forces in Bahia and opted for a retreat through the Caribbean in order to try and compensate for the expenses made during the voyage. At the same time, a project to occupy El Mina was initiated in 1624, a fortification that would not be successfully occupied by the Dutch West India Company until 1637. Until 1628 the Dutch saw themselves forced to maintain this privateering tactic, squadrons of between 5 to 12 ships, the so-called *Groot Desseyn* put any serious plan for the Caribbean on the hold, the French and English, on the other hand, started to slowly expand their colonial empire throughout the Lesser Antilles. Both the French and the English started a shared colony on San Cristobal, the French then occupied Martinique and Guadalupe in 1635 while the English gambled for Barbados. The European colonies founded in the Caribbean

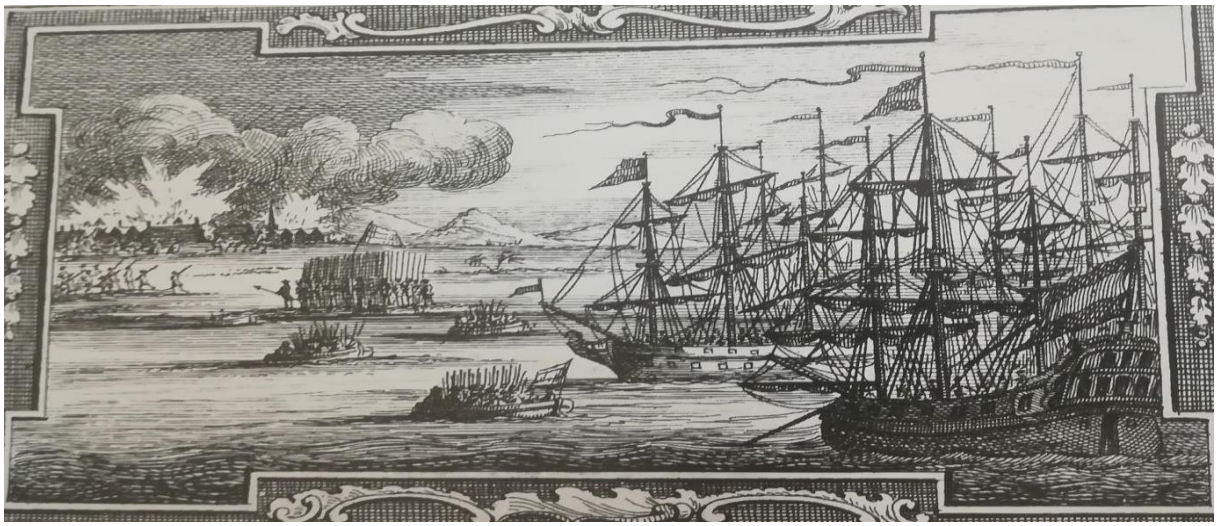
focused mainly on the plantation and exportation of tobacco, this meant that there was a high dependence on the importation of products that weren't obtained on said colonies, such as different food items or fabrics. For this purpose more complex agricultural colonies were needed, colonies like Virginia for the British and Nieuw Holland in the Dutch case. Both colonies developed a more European agricultural economy, they mainly traded on a small scale with the Lesser Antilles. The Dutch, until 1645, were almost invisible in the Caribbean, in the sense of a developed colonial entity, this was because the Republic invested everything in Brazil in the hope that it would prosper once again.[76] The most important Dutch occupation in this first period, before 1645, was probably Curaçao (Figure 12), a colony that positioned the Dutch with both good controls of what happened in the northern parts of South America but it also functioned as a base from which all privateering in the Caribbean was to be orchestrated. Until the 1650's it didn't get the supplies necessaries to function, something that can only be understood as a direct consequence of the problems in Brazil.

The total occupation of the Dutch West India Company and the Republic in trying to solve, or better said save, the Brazilian colony meant that already in 1632 most of the commerce done in the Caribbean was done so by private merchants, the interest of the Republic was so minor that between 1635 and 1637 a period of free trade was installed between the Orinoco River and the Strait of Florida with the consentment of the Company. From 1632 privateering not bound to the Company was also permitted in exchange of tribute that had to be paid. The original painting of the Caribbean during the first half of the XVIIth century is that of the Dutch merchants supplying the colonies with fabricated items and merchandise while the French and the English contributed labor. Until the 1640s most labors came from the so-called indentured servants, white, young boys who traded their freedom for a determined amount of time in exchange for free passage to the Caribbean.

Thus the Lesser Antilles clearly developed a relationship with the WIC that differ profoundly in comparison to Brazil. Another clear example of this poor interest, being the first the limited supplying given to Curaçao and the second the availability of private trade, was the colony of Nieuw Nederland. It has already been stated before that Nieuw Nederland was founded/discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609, but until 1639 it would play a very secondary role. Kylian van Ranselaer member of the Chamber of Amsterdam saw in it a possible agricultural colony that could provide food to the tobacco colonies of the Caribbean, but even in 1639, an estimated 600 colonist will have settled in Nieuw Nederland. Until 1633 some trade

[76] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 128-134)

Figure 12.



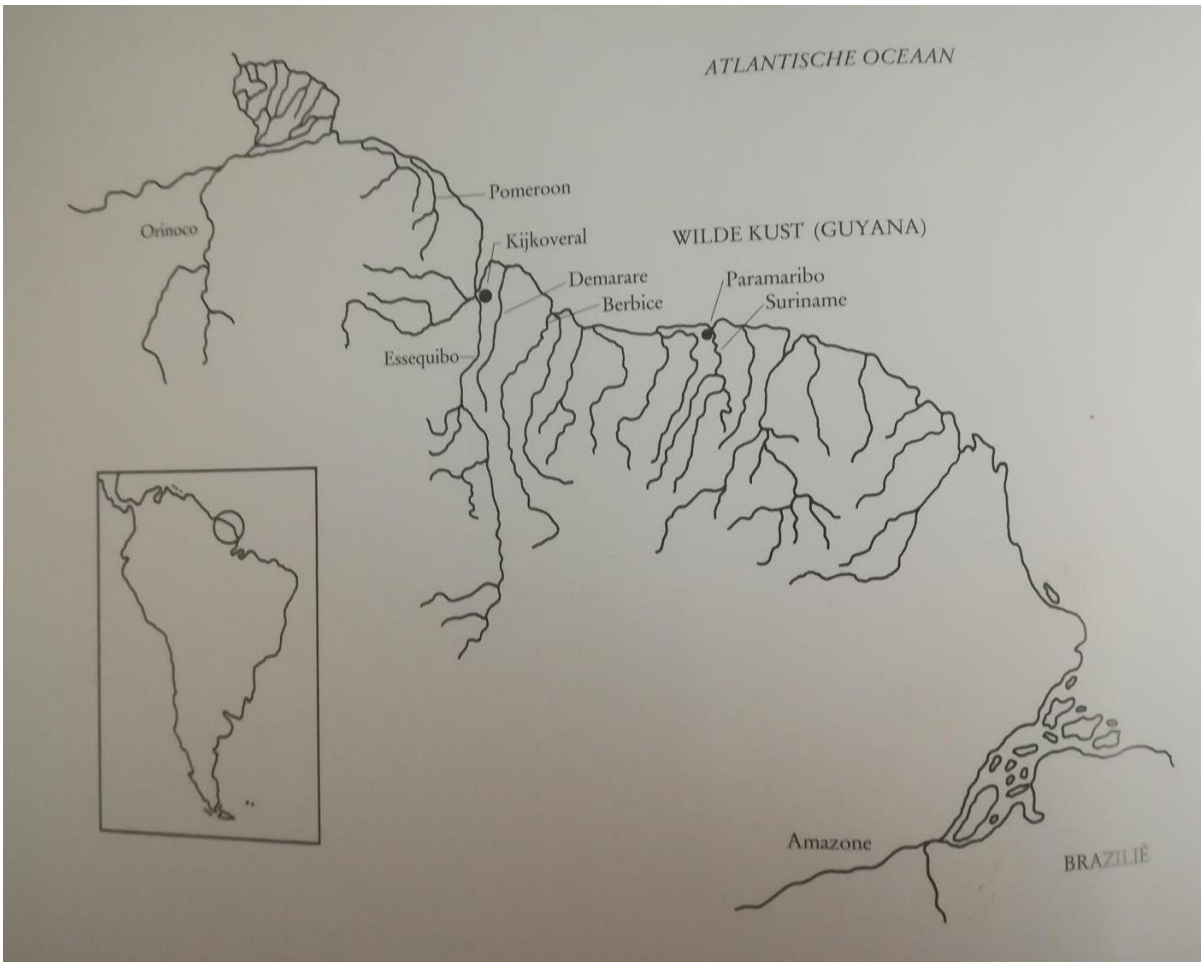
Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 94)

was held with modern-day Connecticut, but these were occupied by the British settlers. In 1639 trade was opened for private merchants in order to reassure a fixed economic income, the Chamber of Amsterdam calculated that it was losing around 31.000 *guldens* yearly in the upkeep of the colony.[77]

Willem Usselincx was one of the initial supporters of these agricultural colonies, and although Nieuw Nederland never really seemed to spark his interest, Guiana did (Figure 13). Its territory had already been visited numerous times by salt merchants from Zeeland who stopped their while trading with Punta Araya. Being the first time around 1580 according to J.J. Hartsinck and his *Beschryving van Guiana* although it's not clear if this also led to the creation of a possible trading post.[78] What does seem to be the case is that the number of yearly visitors to Guiana was stimulated when in 1591 Walter Raleigh published his *The Discoverie of the largan and beautiful empire of Guiana* (Figure 14). What we find thus is that in both cases, the agricultural colonies of Nieuw Nederland and Guyana had already been colonized before the WIC was formed. The charter it was handed in 1621 implied that both these already known and visited places were to be included in the Dutch West India Company, although the respective chambers of said Company maintained in some sort the authority over these territories. They would also count only with a limited number of trading posts making a scaled colonization a too big of an enterprise, that doesn't mean that active colonization was not at

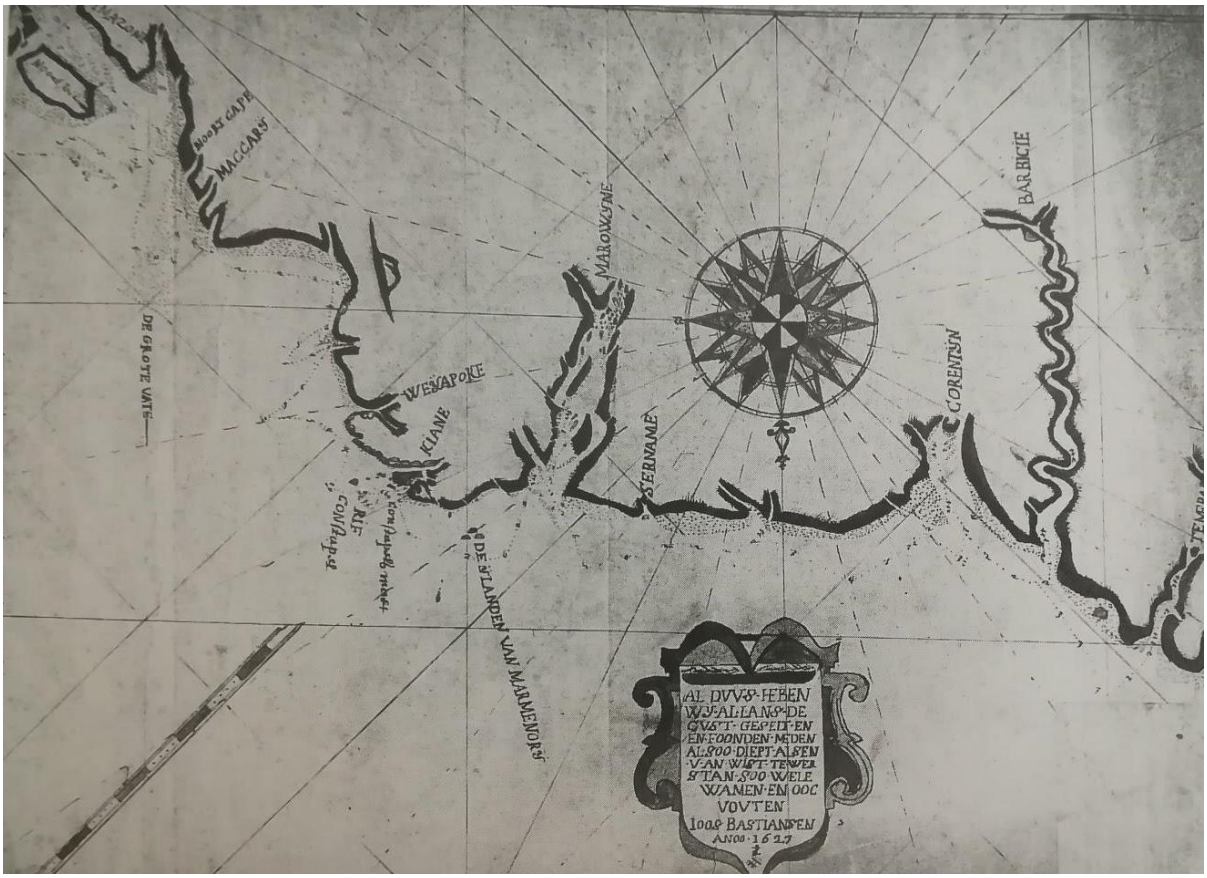
[77] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 134-137); ZUIDHOEK, Arne (1999, p. 26)
[78] DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 81)

Figure 13.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 90)

Figure 14.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 89)

order. Henk den Heijer argued that ships were sent by the Chamber of Amsterdam to Nieuw-Nederland with settlers in order to augment their presence, this led to some conflict with the French and English who were also settling in the Northern territories. The colony of Nieuw-Nederland was to be led by an appointed governor-general and his council of advisors, colonists had certain freedoms when talking about trade although any prices were determined by the WIC. Do give some estimate numbers, somewhere around 100.000 *gulden* was spent in colonizing Nieuw-Nederland between 1624-1625, very little compared to the millions of *gulden* that were pumped into Brazil. The effects were rather poor, between 1627-1628 more people came back from the colony than settlers arrived, thus in order to attract population within the Chamber of Amsterdam rose the question whether to open up the trade with Nieuw-Nederland because, and so thought Kiliaen van Rensselaer, the design of a so-called patronage in which a patron would get a piece of land that he in exchange would have to populate within three years with 50 settlers, over whom said patron had complete jurisdiction could encourage demographic growth. The patron was however also entitled to trade freely along the American

east coast, except in the furs, this item was exclusively tradable for the Company.[79] From a private merchant point of view Nieuw Holland was quite interesting, the Company, on the other hand, had a lot of difficulties misconduct of high officials such as its first governor Willem Verhulst.[80] his successor Peter Minuit, on the other hand, was the complete opposite, he ordered the construction of Fort Nieuw-Amsterdam in order to strengthen the Dutch position in front of a foreigner and indigenous threats, between 1633-1637 and 1637-1645 the situation once again worsened under the rule of Wouter van Twiller and Willem Kieft respectively. British presence grew and the charter monopoly that he WIC held in pelt trade was practically lost to the point of losing control over modern-day Connecticut in 1640. Between 1643-1645 under the guidance of Willem Kieft a war broke out with the native tribes, mostly Mohawks. The Republic intervened and appointed Pieter van Stuyvesant, governor of Curaçao, (Figure 15) as the new governor of Nieuw-Nederland.[81] Clear boundaries were set with the English, the local councils lost their authority and a new council was formed, he organized a military expedition to eradicate a Swedish colony that Peter Minuit, the old governor of Nieuw-Nederland, this expedition would begin in 1655 and its costs were covered by a loan from the city of Amsterdam, Nieuw-Holland could but no pay the loan meaning that part of the Delaware valley fell into the jurisdiction of Amsterdam. Between 1640-1655 Nieuw-Nederland knew demographically a prosper time, the implantation of free trade distinctly helped in this case, at the same time the tribute that the WIC charged for said trade and its charter on pelt gave the Company a small but steady income. During this period from Fort Oranje around 46.000 animal pelts were exported.[82]

In 1664 a quite abrupt ending came to the Nieuw-Nederland as a Dutch colony, even before the beginning of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667), when a British naval squadron appeared, governor Peter Stuyvesant surrendered after a week handing over the colony to Duke of York. After the said war, in 1667 and by the Treaty of Breda Nieuw-Nederland officially passed into the hands of the English, renaming it New York.

By the end of the XVIth century Guiana counted with numerous trading posts, fabricated products were changed for tobacco and pelts. The earliest trading post was Essequibo, destroyed by the Spanish in 1559. Most trading posts were of short existence, being the first

[79] DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 81-84)
[80] As stated, Willem Verhulst was the first governor-general appointed by the Dutch West India Company to Nieuw Nederland. In 1626 he was but repatriated to the republic due to misconduct and bad accountancy
[81] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 84-86)
[82] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p.94-99)

Figure 15.

Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 86)

stronghold of the Dutch Fort *Kijkoveral*, build by Aert Adriaenszoon van Groeneweg on demand of Jan de Moor, in 1616. In the fashion as with Nieuw Nederland, Guyana felt within the charters of the WIC in 1621, and in the same way, as with the Chamber of Amsterdam, the Chamber of Zeeland was handed over its control by the *Heren XIX*. And just as with Nieuw Nederland, the *Heren XIX* uphold from as early as 1623 a controlled free trade for merchants in exchange of a tribute. The system based on patronship was also functional in Guyana, in this territory, Abraham van Pere organized the most notable colony, Berbice, in 1627, the Chamber of Amsterdam sponsored the formation of Cayenne. Although some population remained in

the colonies, serious plans to expand them weren't made until the 1650s. When the Portuguese population rebelled in Brazil, Guiana became, thanks to its proximity, an important refuge site, after 1654 many Jewish merchants had changed Pernambuco for Berbice, Essequibo or Pomeroon. These started to expand the colony by investing in sugar plantations, ordered by the Republic but within 10 years Essequibo would become the target of Lord Willoughby. The British had colonized around the same period Surinam, sugar plantation prospered in the colony and enough infrastructure had been installed to occupy Dutch Guiana in 1666, in the context of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667). The Chamber of Zeeland had sent for a liberation squadron, and although Guyana was not recovered, Surinam was conquered for a short period of time. By the end of the Anglo-Dutch War, and with the signing of the Truce of Breda, Nieuw-Nederland was exchanged for Surinam, a colony that would remain under the direct order of the Chamber of Zeeland until 1681.[83] The Lesser Antilles were just as Guiana and just as Nieuw Nederland a territory of little interest for the Dutch West India Company, the Dutch maintained more of a privateering intervention than active colonization. The victory of Piet Hein over the Silver Fleet gave the Chamber of Amsterdam the idea that a base from which the Republic could organize themselves was necessary, in 1630 Saint Martin was conquered for this reason, it's position in combination with its salt mines made it a perfect logistic center, it was but reconquered by the Spanish in 1633 who saw the WIC as a real threat to their charter.[84] It would return to Dutch control in 1648 but by then it had already lost its maritime interest, the loss of Saint Martin shifted the Dutch attention to Curaçao, it was conquered by Johannes van Walbeek in 1634, eradicating all Spanish and native settlements within 3 weeks. Using Curaçao as a platform, in 1636 Aruba and Bonaire were conquered, this expansion didn't go unnoticed by the Spanish and multiple intents were theorized to expel the Dutch, but said attacks never came to be. After the fall of Recife in 1654, the colony would become one the more important settlements for the Republic, it would also become an important slave market, from its squares black slaves coming from Africa were sold and distributed to all corners of the Caribbean. Private trade was one of the more powerful assets of the Republic, tributes were paid to the WIC for it but at the same time, smaller merchants

[83] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 88-92) An official document was set up in 1628 called *vrijheden van exemptiën* in which the boundaries of the free trade with Nieuw Nederland, Guyana and Brazil were exposed.

[84] Hugo Grotius spoke of this charter as *Mare Clausum*, a sea only for the Spanish to profit from, this was, in the opinion of the Dutch expert in law and student of Oldenbarneveld, something that had to change. Grotius saw the Caribbean as a market of which Europe had to benefit, it had to become a *Mare Liberum.*

were experts in trading slaves and raw sugar as contrabands. It can be said that even though the WIC held the charter for most of the trade, thus controlled from a monopolistic point of view the trade on paper, in reality, the Company hardly traded anything directly, better said, Ernst van den Boogaart and Henk den Heijer seem to point out that the only thing the WIC really controlled in the Caribbean was transport. In 1642 Pieter van Stuyvesant was chosen as its governor, while in 1645 he would exchange Curaçao for Nieuw Nederland. It was tried by the governor to set up an economic unity between both colonies, but Nieuw Nederland lacked the capabilities, to provide the food necessary for Curaçao, the idea was that Curaçao would send slaves to Nieuw Nederland in exchange.[85] Just as both cases mentioned prior, patronship was also of power in the Caribbean, Tobago was actually handed over as a patronship to Jan de Moor, but he would be expelled rapidly by the Spanish, after which the British would claim it, the same goes for Saint Eustatius in 1636 to Abraham van Pere and Pieter van Rhee, tobacco and later sugar would be planted until 1664 when the colony was conquered by French and British settlers. It seemed that after the Peace Treaty of Munster and the loss of Pernambuco, the only stronghold's of the Dutch in the Caribbean were Curaçao, Guiana, and Nieuw Nederland, although these last two would be lost during and after the Second Anglo-Dutch War and replaced by Surinam in 1667.

4. Commerce.

1. The WICs charter empire.

The Creation of the WIC had not only led to a charter in which the entire colonial enterprise of the Republic had been summarized, but the new Company also obtained on paper the full control over trade and transport in the to and from the different colonies in the Atlantic Ocean.[86] This is why, as commented previously, all already existent colonies and trading posts, such as Nieuw Nederland or Guiana became the property of the Dutch West India Company. Ernst van den Boogaart and Evaldo Cabral de Mello show that both Brazil and the Caribbean were two extremely different types of projects, between 1624 and 1635 trade has been fairly well documented, partially thanks to the documents of Johannes de Laet[87] dated to 1644. From 1636

[85] DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 92-96)

[86] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst. (1992, p. 137-141) Cites documents written by Johannes van Laet in which it is calculated that the annual of maintaining, sending and paying the sailors costed the Company somewhere around 4 million *gulden*. The estimated profit of the privateering politics laid actually lower than its costs, the Chamber of Amsterdam lost each year around 200.000 *gulden* due to privateering.

[87] Born in Antwerp, son to a cloth trader, Johannes de Laet was a Dutch geographer and director of the Dutch West India Company most notably known for his work on *The History of the New World* published in 1633.

until more or less 1648, a moment in which the Dutch saw their Brazilian dream fall apart, reliable documentation on trade are scarce, except for Brazil where Hermann Wätjen wrote a detailed description of the slave trade.

With the resumption of the war between the Republic and the Iberian Monarchy in 1621, the sugar trade through Brazil became increasingly difficult. The Dutch would in the first instance dedicate their ships to privateering and robbing Spanish boats, both in the Caribbean as well as the Brazilian coast, the benefits were but rather minor. The director of the WIC Johannes de Laet estimated that between 1624-1637 the yearly benefit obtained from the sugar trade was around 1.5 million *gulden*, an amount that corresponded to somewhere around one-fifth of the yearly benefit of the years prior to 1621. This meant that eventually, the prices of sugar increased in Amsterdam. Prices rose from 42 cents in 1621 to 67 cents between 1630-1635. The situation could be somewhat loosened up with the conquest of Pernambuco. To incentivize its trade the WIC opened up the trade charging 3.75 cents for each pound of sugar, and 2.8 *gulden* for each box of sugar loaded unto the convoy. A price that augmented 8% starting 1638, an increase that came combined with a charter in which it was stated that only the WIC could transport the sugar from the Caribbean to the Republic. Thus as soon as 1640 the Company had little control over the exportation of sugar but it controlled on paper, in its entirety, the transport of it to Europe.[88]

As stated prior, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco in 1630 initiating a long war that eventually ended in with the Portuguese restoration, the brief and fragile occupation of the Dutch was mainly built on the exhaustive control of the main fortification that could be found along the coastline, the superior naval power gave them the mean necessary to occupy them, but the interior, the territory were sugar was cultivated, remained under Portuguese domain. Evaldo Cabral de Mello states in the four captainships that formed Dutch Brazil, 166 *engenhos* could be found, in 1640 only 120 remained, 7000 white and native citizens had fled the area, 4000 black slaves had deserted their owners and the slave trade had come to almost a complete stop.[89] The enormous amount of desertions had furthermore severe consequences on the economy of Brazil, the sugar plantations were in dire need of labor all while the ongoing war was continuing to ravage the countryside, especially during what Evaldo Cabral de Mello and Ernst van den Boogaart baptized as the second phase of the Dutch occupation, between 1632-1636. Under

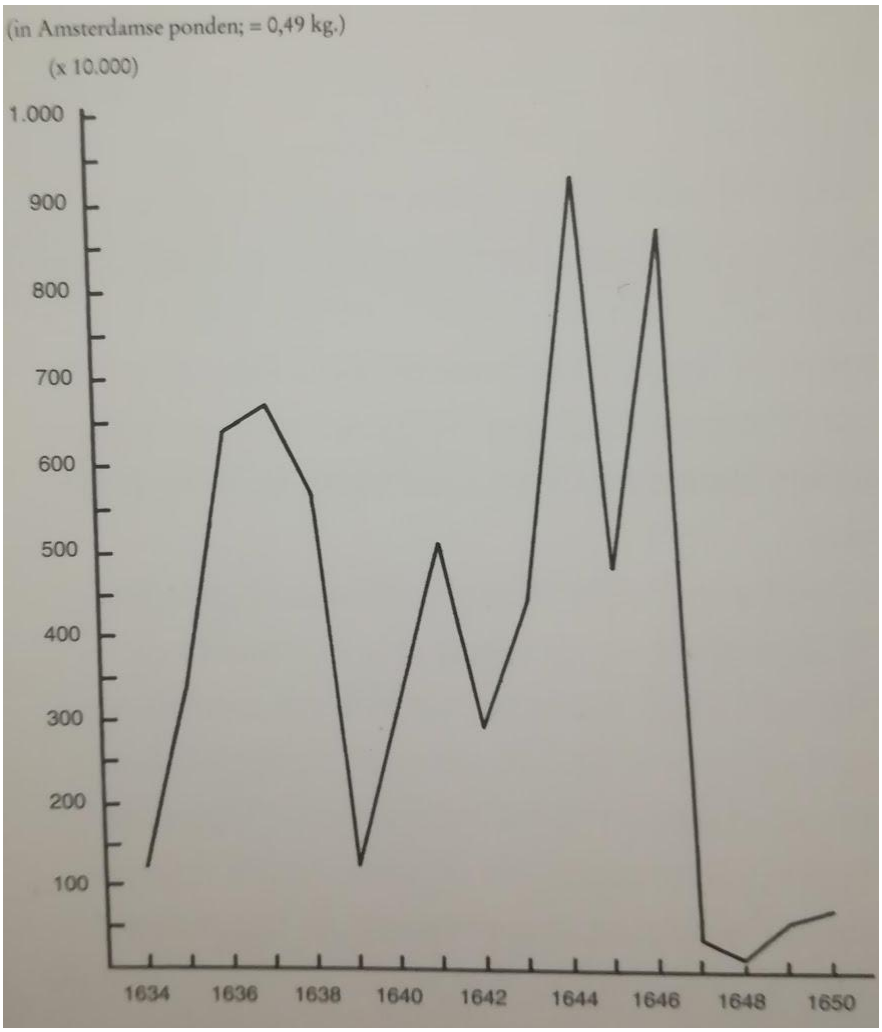
[88] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 123-125); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2011, p.24-29)
[89] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo. (2010, p. 111); (2011, p. 40-47); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 134-136)

the certain stability provided by Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen the sugar economy revitalized in some sense, religious toleration brought some calm to the population, and this was evidently visible in the economy, of the increasing amount of *engenhos* yearly 60.000 boxes of sugar were obtained.[90] A detail that clearly sparks the interest of Ernst van den Boogaart was the fact that preserved writings by Hermann Watjen show a greater number of merchant ships sailed to Brazil between 1635 and 1640 than between 1640-1644, being the second period the years in which the sugar economy started to recuperate itself. This could be according to van den Boogaart explained by the fact that during the first period a greater amount of smaller vessels, yachts, were sent to Brazil with the objective of patrolling the coast. Johan Maurits effective on a social level meant that the necessity of patrol decreased and the necessity of bigger merchant ships capable of transporting large amounts of sugar and other merchandize increased.[91] *Fluitschepen* were the typical ships used for transatlantic transportation, their capability of carrying between 150-250 *last.*[92] Between 1641-1643 the average load of sugar on each vessel was estimated at around 300.000 *gulden*, over which the WIC charged 20.000 *gulden* in tributes. If private merchants had the upper hand in Brazil is hard to say, Ernst van den Boogaart states that even though from a political and economic point of view between 1624 and 1637 a lot has been studied, thanks to the documents of Johannes de Laet, and it has been shown that in the early decade of the 1630's private merchants traveled in great quantities to Brazil, it is impossible to be completely sure if this phenomenon continued during the following decades.

The rebellion of the *moradores* in Brazil in 1645 and the following loss of the colony in 1654 had an enormous impact on the Dutch economy. The Dutch West India Company had at the time great depts with different cities, being the one with Amsterdam the biggest. The Company exercised its charter over Pau Brasil and tobacco, concerning the sugar exportation, Ernst van den Boogaart mentions that around 69% of its total was in hand of private merchants, its prices fluctuated highly, between 64 and 226 % profit margin could be calculated for white sugar between 1637-1642 (Figure 17-18). Due to tributes that had to be paid to the Company to netto profit private merchants could make was even cut shorter, almost none in times when the prices dropped. These same private merchants were the ones who imported the necessary tools to rebuild the *engenhos* after their abandonment during the conflicts between the Dutch and

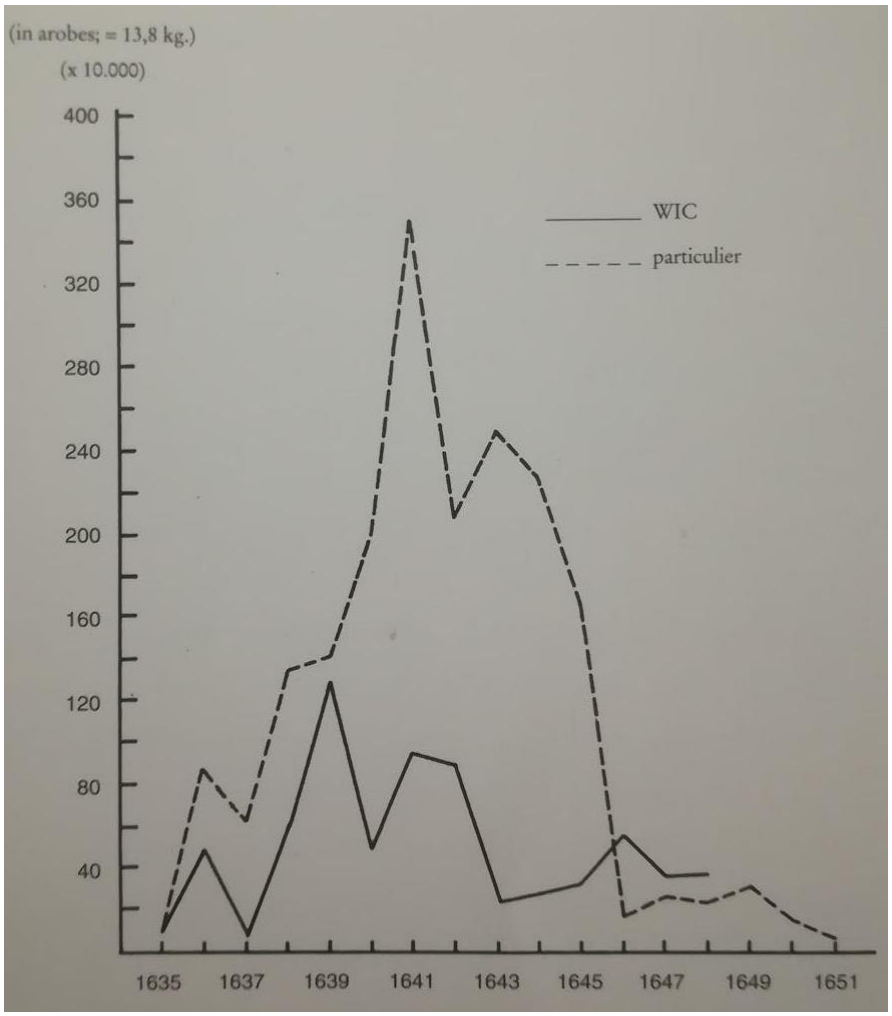
[90] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 51)
[91] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 124-125)
[92] *Last* was a unit of volume used by the Dutch during early modern times commonly used in a maritime context. Applied to modern day concepts a *Last* is more or less equal to 14 tons of weight.

Figure 17.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 54):

Figure 18.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p. 54)

Portuguese. Most of these tools were given to the Portuguese as a loan, over which high interest had to be paid, in some cases, Evaldo Cabral de Mello even mentions that in the end, the prices would exceed European costs by 300 to 400% in Brazil.[93] This led, according to Evaldo Cabral de Mello, Ernst van den Boogaart and Henk den Heijer[94] to the decision of the Portuguese to trade directly with the British after their rebellion in 1645, putting the Dutch in a financial "offside".[95]

While it seems to be true that the more important merchant, generally from Holland and Zeeland, seemed to opt for Brazil, it would be unjust to argument that the Caribbean was only

[93] CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 332); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 137-138)
[94] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 126-128); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2010, p. 335-337); DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 54)
[95] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 126-128); CABRAL DE MELLO, Evaldo (2011, p. 191-194)

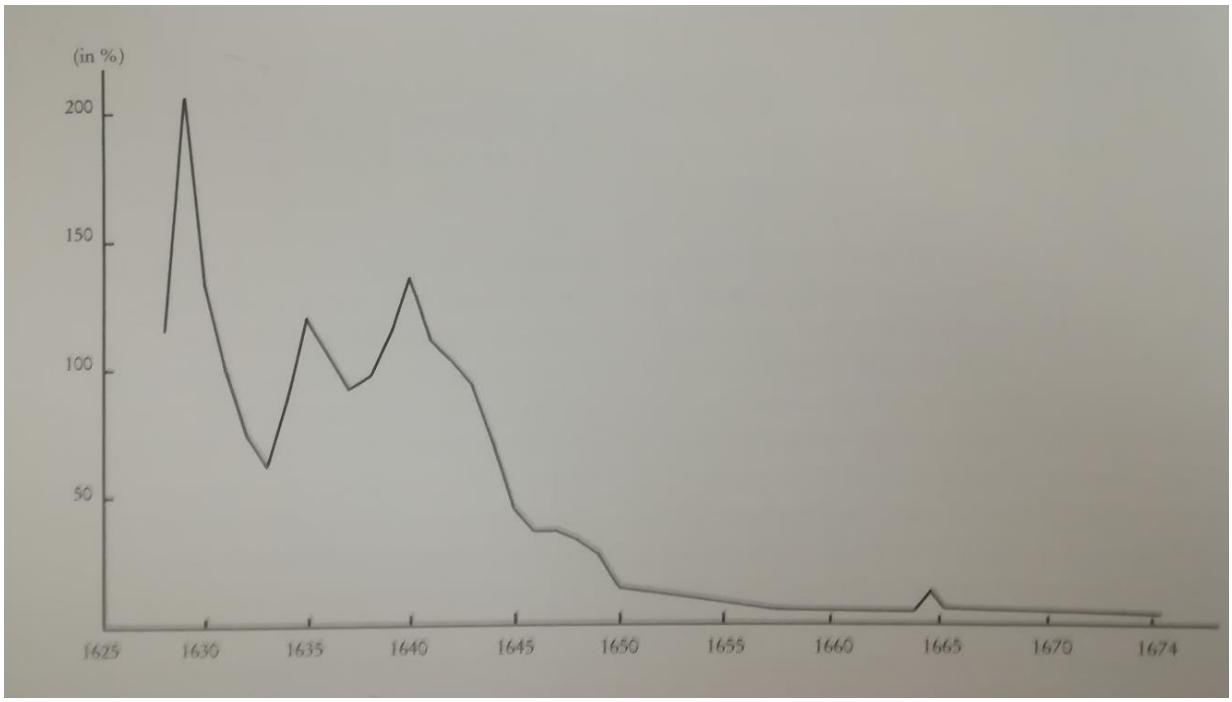
of interest among the lesser-known merchants, initially tobacco would be the star trade item, after the fall of Dutch Brazil the remnant merchants will immigrate to the Caribbean in an attempt to commercialize their knowledge on sugar production with the British and French. Thirdly there will be an active slave economy based on the necessity of cheap labor, a trade that very early on will adapt forms of a more clandestine operation.[96]

The very first economies the Dutch set up in the Caribbean were built around the trade of European products for pelts and local spices and herbs with the native tribes, think about for example the trade posts set op in Guiana in as early as the 1590's and the colony of Nieuw Nederland, founded by Henry Hudson in 1609. The English initiated similar colonization as the Dutch, Virginia was founded in the hope of establishing a complex and functional colony in America, soon things would turn sideways and financial crisis struck the colony hard. In an intent to salvage the suffering colony tobacco was introduced, its market value exploded and it was soon exported to the Lesser Antilles. In the Dutch case, the WIC held the charter for the tobacco trade, for this reason, it never really exploded as much as it did with the British, the Company was too obsessed with *het Grote Desseyn* to be paying attention to the Caribbean. The increasing amount of export of tobacco had but one negative consequence and that was the descent of its market value, from 1635 exportation augmented while market prices dropped, when in 1624 one pound of tobacco could be sold for 60 cents, in 1640 the price had dropped to 11 cents.[97] In Dutch case the tobacco trade in the Caribbean has been very little studied, some preliminary studies have shown that around 20.000 to 30.000 pounds of tobacco could have been exported annually to Holland and Zeeland, not surpassing the 300.000 *gulden* although Ernst van de Boogaart states that these numbers are purely hypothetical.

The loss of Dutch Brazil would have a huge impact on the economy of both the Dutch West India Company as the trade in the northern Atlantic Ocean (Figure 19). Many refugees from Pernambuco exiled through Guiana to the Caribbean, with them they took the knowledge they had gained on sugar production. The Dutch sold the full package needed to construct a fully operating *engenho* to the English and French, at the same time, they had direct access to the slave factories in Africa that had to provide these new sugar mill owners with black slave labor. There were two important consequences linked to the Dutch intent to introduce on an extensive scale sugar plantations, on the one hand, the fact that entire mills were sold to whoever could afford them meant that in difference to the Portuguese ownership of the *engenhos*. In the

[96] SANTOS PÉREZ, José Manuel (2006, p. 22-24)
[97] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p. 130-137)

Figure 19.



Source: DEN HEIJER, Henk. (2002, p.98)

Caribbean, no privileged sector with a monopoly over the sugar mills existed, while at the same time white indentured labor was rapidly substituted by black slaves.[98]

Ultimately, in relationship to the black slave trade, the Treaty of Münster signed by the Dutch and the Spanish in 1648 stated that in regard to the colonial trade, the Republic would have its imperial recognized by the Spanish, while at the same time there would be clause within the contract stating that no direct trade could be made between the two signing empires. This meant that Curaçao lost and important client for its slave market, an important amount of slaves arrived from the Gold Coast to Curaçao to be later sold to either Spanish, French or British colonies. This would eventually give place to an increase of clandestine slave trade.[99] Through secondary contracts it seems that the Dutch would continue to provide slave labor, the Spanish crown would hire foreign slave traders who would then through their contacts buy slaves from Dutch providers, this method meant that the Dutch still had in some sense a steady income from their slave market.

[98] DEN HEIJER, Henk (2002, p. 60); VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst (1992, p.147); LOPEZ, Adriana. GUILHERME MOTA, Carlos. (2008, p. 137-140)
[99] VAN DEN BOOGAART, Ernst. (1992, p. 92-96)

Conclusions

The idea behind this thesis was to answer a set amount of questions that I formulated while reading about the Dutch West India Company. These questions were also exposed in the abstract of this thesis, basically the involved commerce, how did the Thirty Year War affect the Dutch economy and what do we see in the Atlantic world after the creation of the Company in 1621. Which prime differences can we detect in Brazil and the Caribbean and how do they compare to each other while at the same time paying attention to any major changes in the North Atlantic after the Dutch loss of Brazil in 1654.

It is clear that the main framework of my work has been based on three key authors, Dr. Evaldo Cabral de Mello a Brazilian historian whose local point of view gave important inside on the development of the local population during the years 1630-1654. Dr. Henk den Heijer, Doctor Emeritus from Leiden University, specialized in the maritime and political history of the Atlantic Ocean in Early Modern History. Thirdly Mr. Ernst van den Boogaart, who specialized in the Dutch expansion in the Atlantic world, with special detail to the commercial side of the WIC. While at the same time contrasting the data obtained from their works with more recent researches.

It has been shown clearly that, and even though today it seems to have been forgotten, the key to the Dutch colonial empire was to be Brazil. The so-called *Grote Desseny* involved the Dutch colonization of the sugar economy, this had to give the Republic the necessary economic funds to finance its expansion while at the same time it would mean a hard blow to the Iberian crown with whom they were currently in a war. The Dutch intends but failed rather harsh, the WIC was unable to occupy Bahia, the armada had made huge costs that the WIC were unable to repay, thus from an economic point of view the Dutch West India Company had made somewhat of a false start. The consequences were rather severe, until 1630, and after the successful attack on the Silver Fleet, both in the north as in the south Atlantic privateering had become the star activity, it assured a certain bother to the Spanish while at the same time it gave some income to the Company. After 1630, a long and weary war ended up draining the Northern captainships of Brazil, the sugar economy dropped to levels multiple times lower than before 1621, cities were burnt and fields were ravaged. The Caribbean noticed honestly little of the war that was going on in the southern waters, sugar had not yet established itself as the main product of export, tobacco was on the rise. Introduced on a mass scale by the British, the Dutch were the only ones with the transportation capacity giving the Republic a chance to seize protagonism on the north. Although on a certain scale the Dutch used this opportunity, the

dream of completing the *Grote Desseyn* and conquering Brazil simply had hypnotized the *Heren XIX*. The Caribbean were put on a hold until more or less the 1650s when all hope seemed lost merchants and free citizens left Brazil either oversea or through Guiana and settled there or in Curaçao. The impact this time was huge, the knowledge about the extraction of sugar from mills was introduced by the Dutch and embraced by the French and British, tobacco, although still counting with an increasing market, had dropped a lot in value and was deemed to be of too little profit. The biggest difference stated by Ernst van den Boogaart in comparison to the theories of Evaldo Cabral de Mello is the absence of a privileged social class, the so-called owners of *engenhos* or sugar mills in the northern Atlantic. The fact that the Dutch sold not only their knowledge about the extraction but also the necessary tools to do so made that its obtainment was at the mercy of any man who could pay the price. So what we see after the fall of Dutch Brazil is on the one hand a drop in the tobacco plantation, a fact that implied an immediate rise in its market value, while at the same time sugar became a product with an increasing provision, meaning that its market value first rose to then later stabilize at a lower rate. These key points seem rather simple, and they are in a sense, but that doesn't mean that they are less important, it is very important to understand what was traded when, how and for what price to understand political decisions. The necessary funds to expand an empire depended directly from the economy said empire had. From a political point of view Henk den Heijer has stated that even peace could have decisive negative effects on a colony, this can be seen clearly in the case of Curaçao, after 1648 its slave market, which depend highly on the exportation to other colonies, losses a very important client, the Spanish, after the peace treaty of 1648.

In conclusion, in relationship to the Spanish influence in the Dutch economy, it is clear that without the Eighty Year War neither the WIC or the VOC would have had the success for which it is known today, military expansion was true of interest to the Dutch shareholders. But it is of my opinion that the moment military intervention starts evolving into an organized settlement that things get out of control for the WIC, maybe it is because of the lack of knowledge when administering a vast territory such as Dutch Brazil or maybe it's due to the fact that an important part of the Company's military force was constituted out of foreign mercenaries that fought for money, the moment the fighting is done said mercenaries lose their income which could again have a bad influence on the inner workings of the colony. If this hypothesis is true, I cannot say, although when reading dr. Henk den Heijer's work, I strongly believe so.

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